German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150

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Abstract

The thesis is concerned with the later stages of Christianisation of Scandinavia, following the missionary period, when the church was consolidated and given secure foundations for worship and pastoral care, including the building and equipment of thousands of local churches, and the creation of a lasting diocesan structure. It argues that the German influence during this period, while often taken for granted, deserves to be investigated in more detail, and has been underplayed in recent scholarship. It is divided into five chapters, the first three more general in scope, concerned with the whole of Scandinavia, the last two more specific studies organised according to geographical area. Chapter one is introductory. Chapter two considers in general and comparative terms the importance of liturgy and books in the process of Scandinavian Christianisation. Chapter three is a consideration of the German interest in Scandinavia as it developed from the eleventh to the twelfth century, first in secular terms, second in religious terms, including a discussion of the clergy with German affiliations who held office in Scandinavia. It also includes an investigation of the clerical ideals of the principal narrative primary source to the period, Adam of Bremen's *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen.* Chapters four and five deal with questions of the introduction of German liturgy and German books into the churches of Denmark and Sweden respectively. They consist of, first, a discussion of interaction with German centres during the formation of a library and a liturgical identity in the first Danish metropolitan cathedral, St Lawrence's cathedral in Lund; second, a discussion of a surprisingly large corpus of breviary fragments (the liturgical book for the celebration of the divine office par excellence in the later middle ages, but often considered relatively uncommon in twelfth-century Europe) from a poor area in southern Sweden.

CONTENTS

A Note on Names and Translations

There would be two ways of avoiding inconsistency in the forms of medieval personal names from various languages in this thesis: the first (only partially applicable) would be to spell all Scandinavian names in standardised Old Norse spelling, that is slightly modified Modern Icelandic (Óláfr, Eiríkr, etc.); the other would be to use Latin forms throughout (Olavus, Ericus, etc.). Both alternatives strike me as more or less absurd. Instead, comprehensibility rather than consistency has been the guiding factor. My general preference has been for the local spelling of Scandinavian names (thus, King Olav Tryggvason of Norway, King Olof Skötkonung of Sweden, Bishop Ísleifr Gizurarson of Iceland (standardised Old Norse, cf. Modern Icelandic: Ísleifur Gissurarson)), except in those cases where a commonplace English equivalent is available, and the local spelling would confuse (Cnut, rather than Knud). This is almost always the case with German names (thus Henry, William, Frederick, rather than Heinrich, Wilhelm, Friedrich). I have avoided archaic or pseudo-archaic English forms (thus no Canute or Swein). In some cases (such as Archbishop Ascer/Asser) the choice of spelling is arbitrary by necessity.

The same principles, or lack thereof, apply for place-names: English forms have been used, except when they are so uncommon that they may be difficult to understand (thus, Jutland and Zealand, rather than Jylland and Sjælland; but Västergötland, rather than Westrogothia). A possible exception is Scania (in preference for Skåne), which occurs frequently, and is easier on the eye and to use adjectivally.

All quotations in the Scandinavian languages, and most long passages in German and Latin, have been translated. Unless noted, the translations are mine. The original text has normally been placed in the footnotes, except when the original wording is of special interest.

List of Maps and Plates

Maps

Plates

List of Abbreviations

Adam, *Gesta*	Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*
AS	Bolland et al., ed., *Acta sanctorum*
ASC	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
CCM	*Corpus codicum mutilorum*
DA	*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
DDan	L. Weibull et al., *Diplomatarium Danicum: 1. Række*
DKB	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
DRA	Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet
DS	Liljegren et al., ed., *Diplomatarium Suecanum*
KÅ	*Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift*
KLNM	*Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*
London, BL	London, British Library
Lund, UB	Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae historica
MGH Ldl	Monumenta Germaniae historica: Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum
MGH SS rer. Germ.	Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores (in folio)
MPO	*Medeltida pergamentsomslag*
NA	*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*
NL	*Necrologium Lundense*
NRA	Oslo, Rigsarkivet
NTBB	*Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*
PL	Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus*
PRG	*Le pontifical romano-germanique*
SRA	Stockholm, Riksarkivet

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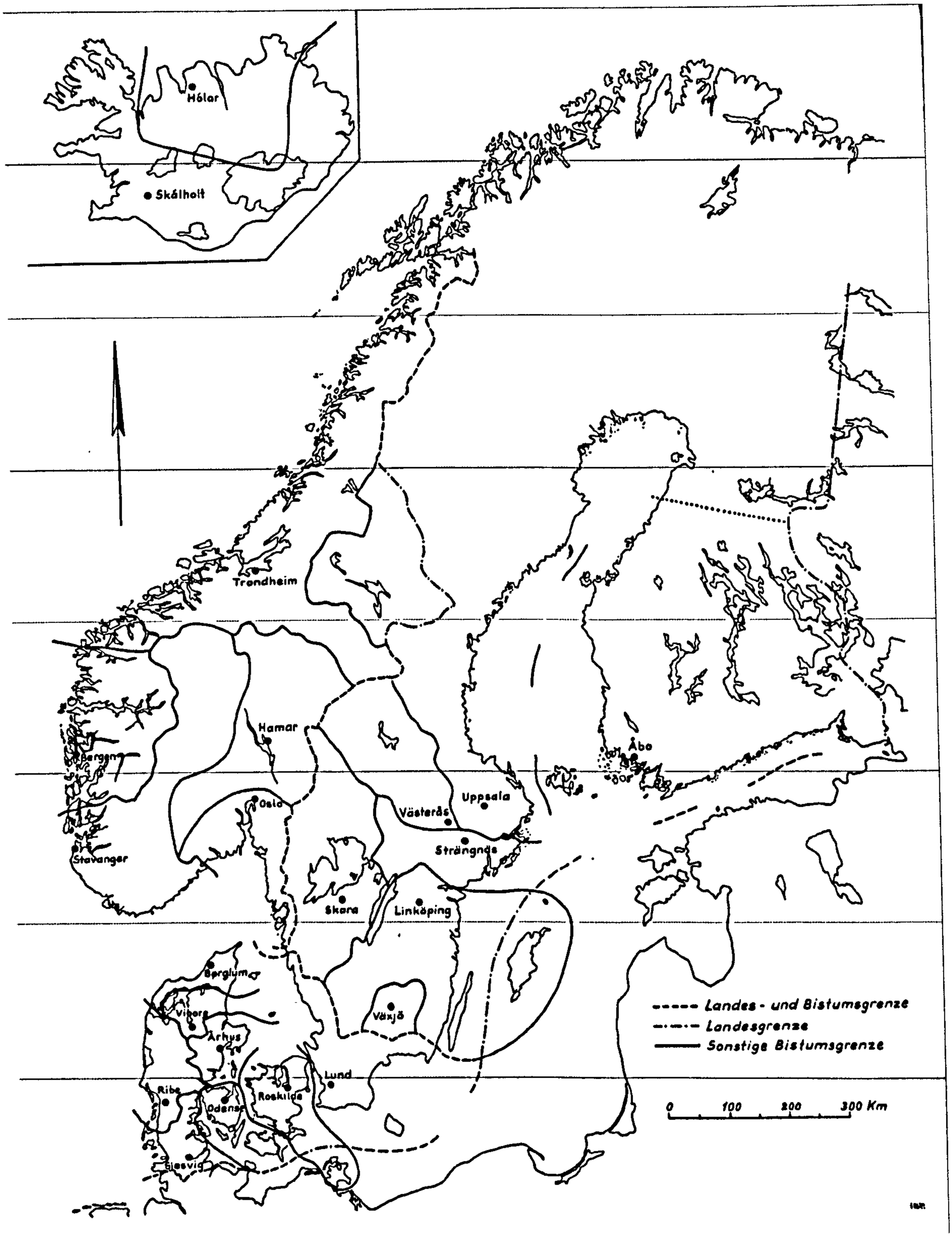
My warmest, heartfelt thanks are due to the following institutions and people. Among the latter are friends, helpers, colleagues, purveyors of unavailable articles, teachers, and inspirations; as many of them fall into several of these categories, I have listed them in alphabetical order. I humbly beg those I have forgotten for forgiveness.

To the staff of the Arnamagnaean Institute in Copenhagen and Reykjavík, the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome, the Centre for Medieval Studies, Bergen, the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, Cambridge, the German Historical Institute, the Institute of Historical Research, London, King's College London, the National Archives in Stockholm and Oslo, the Royal Libraries in Copenhagen and Stockholm, the Swedish Institute in Rome, and the Warburg Institute; to the convenors of the Earlier Middle Ages and the European History 1150–1500 seminars at the IHR, and to various guests and speakers over the years; to the attendants and organisers of the Medieval History Seminar at the German Historical Institute, Washington, D. C. and ensuing *Nachtreffen*; to Chiara Alfano, Marco Alfano, Matthias Ammon, Gunilla Björkvall, Timothy Bolton, Jan Brunius, Eleanor Davey, Ellinor Eichhorn, Alex Fairfax, David Ganz, Jesper Greitz, Jonathan Grove, Michael Gullick, Kati Ihnat, Espen Karlsen, Rosalind Love, Hendrik Mäkeler, Matthew McDermott, Rory Naismith, Samu Niskanen, Åslaug Ommundsen, Eyal Poleg, Susan Rankin, Levi Roach, Miri Rubin, Brittany Schorn, Ben Snook, Peter Stokes, Gustavs Strenga, Dominik Waßenhoven, Tessa Webber, Chris Wilson, and Anna Wolodarski. Special thanks are due to the Arts and Humanities Research Council, to the British Library, and to my parents and my brother for their support; to the best of supervisors, Jinty Nelson, I offer my sincere affection, gratitude, and the deepest admiration.

Erik Niblaeus
Stockholm, August 2010



Map 1. The Dioceses of Medieval Scandinavia (from Nyberg, Die Kirche in Skandinavien, *p. 10)*

1. INTRODUCTION

1:1. Problems and Preliminaries

'Viele Werke der Alten sind Fragmente geworden. Viele Werke der Neuern sind es gleich bei der Entstehung' wrote the young Friedrich Schlegel in *Athenäum.*[1] The fragment, lacking context, lacking commentary, was his favourite literary form, and he defended its incomprehensibility with such great humour and so many levels of irony that any reader is bound to get as lost as he (no doubt) intended.[2] And fragments became popular again, not long ago: Jacques Derrida famously made an ultimately incomprehensible fragment by Nietzsche the basis of all literary history in 1972.[3] Both the Jena Romantics and the post-structuralist generation saw the fragment as a key to subverting the illusory certainties of earlier 'grand narratives' of progress or enlightenment. For the modern student of medieval Scandinavia, on the other hand, the fragment is a preoccupation by necessity. Before the late middle ages, written sources are very few indeed: this applies both to diplomatic, and – with the blatant and remarkable exception of Iceland – literary evidence. Danish and Norwegian twelfth-century histories are often compelling narratives, but selective in focus and uneven in detail. Scattered shards – little glimpses of light in an almost complete darkness – are all that remains of the written record of eleventh- and twelfth-century Sweden (and, consequently, the field is almost entirely dominated by archaeologists).[4] For those interested in coherent, straightforward history – and since this is a time and place associated with the 'births of nations' and suchlike, they have

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[1] 'Athenäums-Fragmente', no. 24: *Charakteristiken und Kritiken I*, p. 169.

[2] Id., 'Über die Unverständlichkeit', in ibid., pp. 363–72.

[3] Derrida, *Éperons/Spurs*, pp. 122–43.

[4] There has been a remarkable flourishing of Swedish interest in twelfth-century history in the 1990s and 2000s, but the most significant studies have been concerned with Danish history – in part, no doubt, because the south of modern Sweden, where one of the most renowned Swedish universities (Lund) is situated, was part of Denmark in the middle ages. See notably Carelli, *En kapitalistisk anda* and Hermanson, *Släkt, vänner och makt.* For an introduction to recent historiographical developments, see Lindkvist, 'Det långa 1100-talet och det korta 1900-talet'.

been many – this is a constant source of frustration. But the special qualities of the fragmentary – the paradoxical, the mysterious, the uncertain – can be appreciated in their own right, and in a context where the simplest, reconstructed narratives are usually the worst, the fragment and the fragmentary are better embraced than avoided.

There are three principal reasons for which I thought this thesis was a worthwhile project. The first was a desire to correct an imbalance in the scholarship: German influence on the church in the formative period in the history of Scandinavian Christianity has never been the object of a separate study, unlike English influence or even 'Eastern' (as in, primarily, Russian-Orthodox) influence.[5] In part, this is a result of historians taking the German presence for granted: that is, since the German mission is comparatively well-documented, sceptical and inquisitive scholars have been more wont to question it than to study it, and instead look for alternatives which have been obscured in the narrative and documentary record. Adam of Bremen's History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen is really the only contemporaneous written source which deals extensively with eleventh-century

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[5] See for example Abrams, 'Eleventh-Century Missions'; ead, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia'; Taranger, *Den angelsaxiske kirkes inflydelse på den norske*; Oppermann, *The English Missionaries in Sweden and Finland*; Janson, ed., *Från Bysans till Norden* (on 'Eastern' influence: this, it should be noted, is extremely elusive, to the point where one of the contributors to the volume has concluded that 'all in all, [it is] difficult to speak of Byzantine or Russian missions to viking-age Sweden, unless one wishes to use the word mission in a completely watered-down sense. As for influence or impact, it would perhaps be better to speak of contact or exchange, because that occurred frequently, but what influence it had is almost impossible to measure' (Nilsson, 'Förekom det bysantinska influenser i tidig svensk kyrkohistoria?', p. 31: 'Sammantaget [är det] svårt att tala om bysantinsk eller rysk mission i det vikingatida Sverige över huvud taget, så länge man vill ge ordet mission en inte fullständigt urvattnad betydelse. Och när det gäller influenser eller inflytande, kanske det vore bättre att tala om förbindelser eller kontakter, ty sådana har det varit gott om, men vilken påverkan de fört med sig är nästan omöjligt att mäta')). Works which do discuss German-Scandinavian religious contact in the central middle ages extensively, although it is not their principal subject matter, include Tore Nyberg's brilliant study *Die Kirche in Skandinavien* and Wolfgang Seegrün's *Das Papsttum und Skandinavien*.

Scandinavia, and the Hamburg-Bremen perspective the only contemporary view available of the transfer of Christian culture into Scandinavia. It is therefore natural that scholars would wish to try and go beyond Adam's text, and to expose the flaws in his superiors' claims to metropolitan authority in Scandinavia (allegedly going back to the ninth century).[6] It is, however, more than a question of simple neglect. In fact, I will argue, there has been a tendency among scholars to *actively minimise* the German contribution to the formation of a Christian Scandinavia. This is an old phenomenon: Toni Schmid argued that the fact that the Latin *vitae* of missionary saints composed in Sweden in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries all have protagonists sent to preach from England (SS Eskil, Sigfrid, and Botvid, notably) was due to an anti-German clerical establishment wishing to conceal the Saxon involvement in the earliest organisation of the church in medieval Scandinavia.[7] The cult of St Ansgar of Hamburg, on the other hand, remained insignificant until the late middle ages.[8] In the years around 1200, Saxo Grammaticus, the most brilliant and tendentious historian and fabulist of medieval Denmark, skillfully manipulated Adam of Bremen's narrative – also his principal Latin source for the tenth and eleventh centuries – to create an account where Danish kings, not foreign archbishops, took the initiative in Christianising Denmark.[9]

In the twentieth century, the Second World War and the German occupation of Norway and Denmark left deep marks on historical scholarship. Also liberal Swedes, such as Lauritz Weibull, came to associate more-or-less explicitly the German 'imperial church' of the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the Hitler's expansionist German *Reich*.[10] If the Hamburg-Bremen archbishops had never had a particularly good press among Scandinavian historians, their villainous qualities

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[6] See below, pp. 106–35.

[7] Schmid, *Sveriges kristnande*, pp. 129–44.

[8] Helander, *Ansgarskulten i Norden.*

[9] See the analysis in Bolin, *Om Nordens äldsta historieforskning*, pp. 41–53.

[10] On the problems with the idea of an 'imperial church', see below 136–7. See also below, pp. 107n and 109, for Lauritz Weibull's anti-German rhetoric. On Weibull as a scholar, see Odén, *Lauritz Weibull och forskarsamhället.*

became all the more pronounced in postwar scholarship.[11] In 1966, in an influential attempt at a synthesis of Danish history 'between the vikings and the Valdemarians', Aksel E. Christensen began by arguing against the picture of Danish medieval society drawn by his (radical, anti-nationalist) mentor Erik Arup in 1925, but ended the article with a long passage asserting quite how unimportant German influence was in twelfth-century Denmark: coinage, culture, and religion showed very few German traits; political concessions to the German emperor were the result of temporary weaknesses; most of the mercantile innovations which allowed the formation of the Hanseatic league were Scandinavian, not German.[12] In fact, Christensen claimed, twelfth-century Denmark saw the flourishing of a 'broad and noble spiritual culture without parallels in neighbouring Germany'.[13] Danish kings and bishops were building with bricks 'a decade before a cathedral was built in Lübeck in wood'.[14] This last comparison is patently unfair (Lübeck was hardly representative of German religious culture or building-techniques), and most of the other conclusions are highly debatable. The general tendency is anti-German, and the dismissal of German influence generally based on the inference that if, say, the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman churches had more influence on Scandinavia than scholars had previously thought, their influence came *at the expense* of German churchmen. This tendency persists. During the course of my doctoral research, when I have told colleagues about my subject, the assumption has often been that by exploring and highlighting German religious influence, I have wished to show that the English influence was comparatively unimportant. This, as I hope will be clear, is by no means the case. In fact, squaring up English (or Russian-Orthodox, or French, or Italian, and so on) against German influence, as if the two could

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[11] As noted by Wolfgang Seegrün (*Das Erzbistum*, p. 15), some of the negative reputation of the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen may be due to the flamboyant and divisive personality of Archbishop Adalbert (1043–72), on whom see below, pp. 136–46.

[12] Christensen, 'Mellem vikingetid og Valdemarstid', pp. 48–53; cf. Arup, *Danmarks historie* I; on the relations between Arup and Christensen, see Tiemroth, *Erslev – Arup – Christensen.*

[13] Christensen, 'Mellem vikingetid og Valdemarstid', pp. 50–1: 'en bred og fornem aandskultur uden sidestykke i det tyske naboomraade'.

[14] Ibid., p. 50: 'et aarti før man i Lübeck opførte en domkirke i træ'.

somehow be measured in percentage points, seems misguided in the first place: there is neither enough evidence, nor any real reason for doing so.

Today, if a scholar were to make a connection between the Hamburg-Bremen mission and National Socialism, it would be trite and irresponsible. However, the negative reputation of Hamburg-Bremen and the German mission is still noticeable. Sometimes, this is a result of an otherwise highly welcome development in Scandinavian scholarship: the opening-up to international (that is, mostly Anglophone) influence and theoretical frameworks. Under the influence of post-colonial theory, historians and post-processual archaeologists have posited the Scandinavia of the Christianisation period as a victim of imperialism, perpetrated by an expansionist German church. Thus, Hamburg-Bremen was an aggressive representative of the 'intolerant Frankish imperial priesthood'.[15] A prelapsarian 'multi-religious, inclusive system' was threatened and eventually annihilated by those (Hamburg-Bremen) 'who wanted Western Christianity to be in sole control'.[16] While this is certainly a highly different perspective from the salvational history of chroniclers such as Adam of Bremen (who thought of his church as a pacifying influence on the violent north), it can also serve to amplify, rather than counteract, residual nationalist narratives, where pre-Christian life (hopelessly obscure, and endlessly malleable) is idealised, and the 'foreign' middle ages are demonised. All in all, as I have argued below, the post-colonial perspective is problematic for medieval Scandinavia, and German imperialism a complex and by no means always aggressively expansive phenomenon.[17] Anachronisms of this kind can hardly be avoided, but they can be brought to light and considered in their own right as a necessary component of the modern student's understanding of medieval Scandinavia.

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[15] Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*, pp. 9–16: 'det intoleranta frankiska kejsarprästerskapet'.

[16] Runer, *Från hav till land*, p. 43: 'ett multireligiöst/inkluderande system mot dem som ville att den västliga kristendomen skulle vara allenarådande'.

[17] See below, pp. 77–99.

The two other *raisons d'être* behind the thesis require less explanation: I have an interest in taking historical analysis beyond the church-political, to focus on religious practice. This perspective has the potential both of producing a more multi-facetted picture of German religious influence – significantly by going beyond Hamburg-Bremen – and of offering insights into the practical realities of how Christian life was consolidated and developed in Scandinavia – the mechanics of Christianisation, as I have called it. Finally, I came to the subject through having my attention drawn to (often) neglected evidence for the medieval Scandinavian church: fragments of liturgical books, surviving in tens of thousands in Swedish, Danish, Finnish, and Norwegian national archives and libraries, some of them from as early as the eleventh, possibly even the tenth, century. Through a number of cataloguing projects (described below in chapter two), this material has benefited from a sudden increase in attention in recent years, and since the fragments provide, effectively, the earliest evidence for the rites and books of the Scandinavian church, and I already had an interest in manuscripts and liturgy, they seemed an intriguing starting-point for an investigation into the practices and circumstances of the church in the immediate post-missionary generation. In the end, the fragmentary material became less prominent in the thesis than I had envisaged. This is partly because many fragments, in Danish and Norwegian collections in particular, have not yet been properly catalogued, and I have been wary of turning the thesis into a descriptive cataloguing project, and partly because – as I tried to transform myself from a philologist with literary interests into a historian – new questions and problems which deserved consideration arose as the work progressed.

I will also take this section as an opportunity to offer some reservations about and clarifications of the thesis's title. Several of the words and concepts in it can be queried – in part, this is because one can only say so much in a title; in part, because my priorities have changed over the course of my research and writing. First, by 'German influence', I mean simply influence coming from Germany – that is, not necessarily influence that contemporaries would have recognised as being 'German' in essence, but simply customs, material goods, and so on, which entered

Scandinavia from Germany. Conceptually, this is perhaps better understood as 'cultural transfer' (discussed below) than as 'influence'. The term 'Germany' itself is of course also not entirely straightforward, although equivalents (*regnum Teutonicorum*, notably) were certainly current in the period under consideration.[18] In church-historical terms, speaking of a 'German' ecclesiastical hierarchy is problematic mainly at the frontiers and in missionary zones: this has been considered in some detail below.[19] Otherwise, by the 'German church', I mean Christian religious institutions situated in the territory covered by the ecclesiastical provinces of Mainz (except its Bohemian suffragans), Trier, Cologne, Hamburg-Bremen (except its Scandinavian and Slavic suffragans), Magdeburg, and Salzburg. By 'Scandinavia', I refer to the three medieval kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and Iceland, although – as any reader will quickly notice – the concentration has been overwhelmingly on Sweden and Denmark. This is in part because the German influence is more readily apparent in eastern than in western Scandinavia (for obvious reasons of immediate exposure and more frequent contact), in part because the timeframe and scale of the project has not allowed for a detailed consideration of Norwegian or Icelandic material. In general, I should stress that I have never aimed to be comprehensive, that is, to give a full account of *all* German influence on religious practice in *all* of Scandinavia in this time-period. Such a project would be an impossible undertaking for a single scholar with less than a lifetime at his disposal.

The chronological limits of the thesis are not strict: much of the manuscript evidence can be dated only stylistically, and absolute exactitude is impossible. Some of the material discussed in chapter two could well be from the first half of the eleventh century, some of the material in chapter five from the second half of the twelfth. The reasons behind the chronological limits of the thesis have been given below. In terms

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[18] For a recent contribution to the long-standing debate about at which point exactly 'German history' takes over from 'Frankish history' (arguing convincingly in favour of the mid-tenth century), see Hlawitschka, 'Vom Ausklingen der fränkischen und Einsetzen der deutschen Geschichte'.

[19] See below, pp. 146–7.

of periodisation, I have followed normal English-language usage, and the period under consideration is taken to be part of the central middle ages (similar to the German *Hochmittelalter*, but different from, for example, Swedish usage, where it would be normal to call the period around 1050/1100–1300/1350 the early medieval period). I have avoided the word 'viking' to the extent that that is possible: it carries too much ideological ballast, and has dominated both popular and scholarly perception of medieval Scandinavia (in particular in the English-speaking world) to the point where it has become a hindrance to original historical analysis.[20]

Church-political discussions recur at frequent intervals in the thesis (and, indeed, dominate much of chapter three): in this respect, it builds on a distinguished historiographical tradition dealing with the relations between the Scandinavian churches, the missionary archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, and the papacy, represented by Swedish and Danish historians Lauritz and Curt Weibull, Sture Bolin, Aksel E. Christensen, Carsten Breengaard, Carl Fredrik Hallencreutz, Michael Gelting, and Henrik Janson, and the Germans Wolfgang Seegrün, Erich Hoffmann, and Helmuth Kluger, to name only a few.[21] My debt to their work is considerable, and if, especially in terms of conclusions and general guidelines, my thesis fails to respond to some of the challenges they have set, it is because I have wished to keep the focus as much as possible on matters of religious practice: the recruitment of the clergy, liturgy, and manuscripts.

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[20] See Svanberg, *Decolonizing the Viking Age* I, 66–82.

[21] For some reasonably representative examples of the publications of these scholars, see for example the various papers collected in L. Weibull, *NH* II; C .Weibull, *Källkritik och historia*; Bolin, *Om Nordens äldsta historieforskning*; Christensen, Mellem vikingetid og Valdemarstid' (as discussed above); Breengaard, *Muren om Israels hus*; Hallencreutz, 'När Sverige blev europeiskt'; Gelting, 'Elusive Bishops'; Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*; Seegrün, *Das Papsttum und Skandinavien*; E. Hoffmann, *Königserhebung und Thronfolgerordnung*; Kluger, 'Bischof und König in Dänemark'; as well as other entries by these authors in the bibliography.

1:2. Theoretical Frameworks

1:2:1. Conversion – Christianisation – Europeanisation

If, as observed by Thomas Bisson, 'one does not safely bet against continuity in history', then the study of Christianisation is a safe exception: the argument for change, and fundamental change – to society, culture, politics, and so on – is incontrovertible.[22] And unsurprisingly, the process which saw the inhabitants of medieval Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Iceland abandon paganism in favour of Christianity has been a favourite subject among Scandinavian historians for as long as there have been Scandinavian historians.[23] The last couple of decades have seen significant development in the discipline, however. A symposium in Sweden in 1985, with proceedings published in English, set the tone for much of what was to follow: interdisciplinary ideals, collaboration, scepticism towards written sources.[24] A culmination of sorts occurred in the 1990s, with two large-scale collaborative projects in Norway and Sweden.[25] These and similar investigations, although far from presenting a simple, unified picture, have often pointed in the same general direction. In an overview of the results, Stefan Brink has offered two principal conclusions: first, 'that there were regional differences in Scandinavia in several respects' – regional, that is, as opposed to 'national': in fact, in Brink's view, Sweden – traditionally thought of as hopelessly behind in the Christianisation process – 'was in line with Denmark and Norway in every respect'. This conclusion is related to a tendency among modern scholars to avoid projecting cultural differences between the three Scandinavian kingdoms back to a period when royal power was limited and, especially, Norway and Sweden were far from stable, consolidated polities. Second, 'that the period of Christianisation was much longer

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[22] Bisson, The "Feudal Revolution"', p. 143.

[23] Beginning in 1122×32 with Ari Þorgilsson, in his *Íslendingabók* (ed. Jakob Benediktsson).

[24] B. Sawyer, P. H. Sawyer and Wood, ed., *The Christianization of Scandinavia.*

[25] See, for Norway: see for example Rindal, ed., *Fra hedendom til kristendom*; for Sweden, the papers collected in Nilsson, ed., *Kristnandet i Sverige.*

than was previously thought'. 'The older view' was 'that the conversion was a single event', a view influenced by twelfth- and thirteenth-century narrative sources, which connected the conversion of the kingdom with the conversion of a particular king (Harald Bluetooth in Denmark in the 960s, Olav Tryggvason in Norway in the 990s, and Olof Skötkonung in Sweden in around 1000). Modern scholarship however, shuns speaking of the 'conversion' of Scandinavia (or of a Scandinavian kingdom), and prefers the term Christianisation, 'a lengthy process', in Brink's view, which can be extended both backwards, to the time when Christian burials first start appearing in the tenth century, and forwards – well into the twelfth century, as the diocesan organisation solidified, churches were built, and parishes created.[26]

It should be noted that 'the older view' was far from universal, and that the idea of a gradual Christianisation process is an old insight. Olaus Petri (1493–1552), the most prominent Lutheran preacher in Reformation-period Sweden, put it like this:

> It is scarcely possible that the whole kingdom could have become Christian everywhere in [Olof Skötkonung's] reign, because there were too few preachers for such a large country. And it is certainly likely that some hundred years would have passed before there were enough priests, who were needed across the kingdom. And the idolatry that existed here could not have been suppressed easily or quickly. What happened was surely that one part was Christian, and one part heathen ... And this is certainly in evidence in the ecclesiastical section of the Swedish law code, which ... was laid down about a century after Olof Skötkonung, because in that same ecclesiastical law it was decreed that one should not believe in groves and other such things. Thus it clear that this was still in practice: it would have been pointless to ban what nobody practised. Only slowly did Christianity make its way into this kingdom, before pagan idolatry had been entirely suppressed.[27]

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[26] Brink, 'New Perspectives', pp. 163–5.

[27] Olaus Petri, 'En swensk cröneka' (ed. Hesselman and Westman, pp. 39–40): 'doch war thet icke möghelit, at heela rijket kunde bliffua Christet öffuer alt i hans tijdh, för ty här woro alt för fåå

The result was a twelfth-century church quite distinct from those of the old-Christian British Isles or the post-Carolingian Continent. The preconditions for worship and catechisation were rudimentary, the priests overstretched. The earliest converts had been from the 'upper strata of society', and Christianity, it is commonly agreed, took its time to '[trickle] down to the lower social classes'.[28] Peter Sawyer has summarised the problems that the burgeoning Scandinavian church (presumably) faced as follows:

> Evidence for early church organisation is slight and any generalisation must allow for the existence of a great variety of local customs and abuses, most of which are beyond discovery. Church laws were promulgated, and many have been well preserved, but it is impossible to say how well they were observed. The establishment of parishes, and the extension of episcopal control over them was, like Christianisation itself, a slow process. In the twelfth century and long afterwards most of the clergy must have been ill-educated and the impossibility of any form of effective episcopal discipline was hampered by the huge size of many dioceses, especially in Sweden and Norway.[29]

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predikare til så wijdt land, Och är noogh troendes, at thet haffuer wel stådt i noghor hundrade åår, för än man kunde bekomma så monga prester som ther til behöffdes öffuer hela rijkit, Och thet affguderij som här war, kunde intit letteliga eller hasteliga, niderslagit warda, Thet haffuer wisseliga så gått til at en part haffuer warit Christen, och en part heeden ... Och thet är noogh merkiandes vthaff kyrkiobalken i Sweiges laghboock, huilken ... noghor hundrade åår, epter Olaff Skottkonung hafer giordes warit, ock i samma kyrkiobalk warder förbudhit at man icka skal troo vppå lundar och annat sådan, Så är jw clart at thet war än thå i brukning, annars hade thet warit fåfengt at göra ther forbodh vppå som ingen brukade. Longsameliga haffuer thet gått til med Christendomen här i rijkit, för än thet hedniska affgudherijt kunde platt niderlagt warda'. On Olaus Petri's Swedish history, see Westin, *Historieskrivaren Olaus Petri* and id., *Olaus Petri, Peder Svart och Gustav Vasa.* On the ecclesiastical law codes, see below pp. 235–43.

[28] Brink, 'New Perspectives', p. 164.

[29] P. H. Sawyer, 'Dioceses and Parishes in Twelfth-Century Scandinavia', p. 43.

The general tenor of this argument is probably correct. There are, however, some problems which need to be addressed. First, the insistence on the 'gradual' nature of Christianisation can obscure the momentous nature of individual conversion, which in a Scandinavian context can be studied in the poetry of Icelandic skalds, such as Hallfreðr Óttarsson *vandræðaskáld* (active in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries), whose poetic imagery changed entirely with his conversion.[30] In addition, if 'a lengthy process', Christianisation could, in theory, be stretched to absurdity: from, say, the appearance of recognisably Christian goods in the late-Roman Iron-Age archaeological record, to the Reformation, or beyond. In fact, from the point of view of salvational history, Christianisation never ends: every new generation has to be 'converted' through baptism and 'Christianised' through catechism. The priestly office is missionary by definition. Second, for all that it is an undeniable truth that the material preconditions for the Christian faith were, for some time, rudimentary in most of newly-Christianised Scandinavia, one cannot automatically infer that the clergy were therefore inclined to abuse canonical regulations, ill-disciplined, or badly educated. That Christianisation took its time does not imply that the new religion was built up at a steady pace, and gradually perfected: on the contrary, the new religion grew in fits and starts; ambitious projects were thwarted by practical problems. Churchmen keen on the latest innovations and developments could find in the 'vital, dynamic young Church ... emerging across Scandinavia' a testing-ground unencumbered by centuries of ossified tradition.[31] Furthermore, the Christianisation of Scandinavia was not a 'miniature early middle ages', in which the region underwent what had happened in post-Roman and Carolingian Europe within the space of a few generations: it was part of high-medieval European history, and took

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[30] On the changes Skaldic poetry underwent with the conversion of the poets and their patrons, see for example Gade, 'Poetry and its Changing Importance', pp. 73–5. Hallfreðr's poems forcibly contradict the notion that 'the more interior and doctrinally-defined versions of Christianity, and the theories of religious experience, are demonstrably inappropriate to the study of Christianisation in the early medieval period, principally because the people who comprised the various early medieval societies were not accustomed to regarding themselves as discrete individuals, capable of personal decisions in the area of beliefs and practices' (Cusack, 'Towards a General Theory of Conversion', p. 15).

[31] Quotation from Abrams, 'Eleventh-century Missions', p. 31.

place against the background – not to the exclusion of – European-wide developments in ecclesiastical organisation, the refinement of canon law, church reform, and the birth and diffusion of new religious orders. The lack of this perspective is often the principal problem with studies comparing the Christianisation of Scandinavia with processes of Christianisation in earlier periods, such as seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England or ninth-century Saxony: there is constant a risk of getting stuck in a restrictive teleological view, one of 'Christianity-formation', of assuming a set of criteria immanent in the developing religion.[32]

The period under consideration in this thesis is, roughly, the century between 1050 and 1150. I have chosen to focus on this period in part because it deserves more attention in English-language academia, where interest in medieval Scandinavia tends to flag after the viking age. It is also, to me, a very interesting phase in the history of the Scandinavian church: one where, for the most part, the missionary period was over, but the church was still in the process of being built up, of adjusting itself to a European mainstream. Quite how the new religion functioned at the early end of this phase remains mysterious: clearly, there were consecutive generations of Christians around, and there must have been a number of professional Christians present, to ensure continual opportunities for worship and rites of Christian initiation and education. But there are few tangible remains of their activity. There were no great monastic centres, which could have functioned as Christian focus points in an otherwise underdeveloped ecclesiastical geography (as they did in, say, in some places in Carolingian Saxony): in fact, communal life came conspicuously late to medieval Scandinavia.[33] Churches were, probably, small and in wood – the stave church, based on a vertical timber framework, has become emblematic of early Scandinavian Christianity, but virtually none have survived outside Norway.[34] The most characteristic aspect of the young church of the north is instead associated with the Christian lay elite: rune stones, monumental inscriptions commemorating the

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[32] Cf., for example, Sanmark, *Power and Conversion*; Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe.*

[33] Nyberg, 'Early Monasticism in Scandinavia'.

[34] Bjerknes et al., 'Stavkirke'.

dead, which recorded family ties and (in the overwhelming majority of cases) proclaimed the Christian religious identity of the commemorated and the commemorator. From Harald Bluetooth's announcement of his (and his kingdom's) conversion at Jelling in Jutland in the late tenth century, to the veritable explosion of rune stones in eleventh-century central Sweden (in Uppland and Södermanland, the provinces surrounding Lake Mälaren, in particular), runic inscriptions are so typical of the earliest Christianity in Scandinavia, that one could justifiably call it 'runic Christianity'. There is evidence that this 'runic Christianity' could coexist with very public forms of paganism: in the 1070s, Adam of Bremen described how regular pagan festivals were still taking place at the great temple at Old Uppsala in Sweden; at the same time, and in the same province (Uppland), the practice of runic commemoration entered its most intense phase, and thousands of stones were raised.[35]

As international contacts drew the Scandinavian church into a wider international sphere, and 'runic Christianity' was replaced by something more familiar, Christian life, for some time, was characterised by paradox and apparent contradiction: the archaic and obscure overlapped with the mainstream and familiar. This applied also to secular society. As an example, these tensions seem encapsulated by the figure of Sven Estridsen, king of Denmark 1042–76. Sven belonged both to an older, archaic Denmark – he was a pirate king, who went on regular raiding expeditions across the North Sea – and could, at the same time, act the fully-fledged European monarch, notably in his relations with the papacy. To William of Malmesbury, he was a man who found 'peace intolerable'; to Gregory VII, he had 'so far outshone the rest of kings, that [he placed] all of them behind him (not even excepting the Emperor

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[35] Adam, *Gesta* IV:26–8 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 257–61; transl. Tschan, pp. 207–9). Much ink has been spilt on the temple at Old Uppsala, and Adam's description: see, notably, the articles collected in Hultgård, ed., *Uppsala och Adam av Bremen*; and cf. Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*, in particular pp. 257–97, who has constructed an ingenious, if ultimately unpersuasive, argument denying that a pagan temple even existed at Uppsala in Adam's time.

Henry [III] himself who clave so closely [to] the Roman church)'.[36] Adam of Bremen, who had met Sven and had a keen eye for inner contradictions, described him as 'well versed in the knowledge of letters ... distinguished by many virtues, he offended only by [*luxuria*]'.[37] The king's vices – 'gluttony and women' (noted also by Pope Gregory) – Adam took to be Danish national characteristics, 'inborn with that people'.[38] At the other end of my timeframe, the body of charters issued by Swedish kings, noblemen and churchmen (mainly to record and reaffirm donations to Cistercian monasteries) is a noteworthy example: qualitatively, in text and form, they are easily comparable with the European mainstream. Quantitatively, however, the situation is entirely different: fewer than twenty charters in total survive from before 1200 (the earliest is from 1164×67).[39] It should also be noted that, for all that the reasons for which Christian life in Scandinavia in the later stages of Christianisation seemed different from Christian life in the heartlands of Western Europe were practical and material – the predominance of wooden buildings, the immensity of the dioceses (in Sweden and Norway) – this does not automatically mean that the church was poor. In fact, especially from around the early twelfth century, the laity, across Scandinavia, made enormous investments in provisions and patronage for monks, nuns, and priests.[40] The number of local churches grew with remarkable rapidity from this period – in Denmark alone, scholarly estimates of

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[36] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* III:261 (ed. and transl. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom I, 480–1); Gregory VII, *Registrum* VII:21 (ed. Caspar, p. 497; transl. Cowdrey, *The Registry*, p. 351): 'in tantum cęteris regibus prenituerunt, ut cunctis posthabitis nec ipso etiam imperatore Heinrico, qui sanctę Romanę ecclesię propinquis hęsit'.

[37] Adam, *Gesta* III:54 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 198–9; transl. Tschan, p. 160): 'scienta litterarum eruditus ... cum multis virtutibus polleret, sola aegrotavit luxuria'.

[38] Ibid. III:21 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 164; transl. Tschan, p. 132): 'gula et [mulieres] ... naturalia ... illis gentibus'. Gregory noted the king's vices in the letter cited in the footnote above.

[39] For an excellent, up-to-date introduction, see I. Larsson, *Svenska medeltidsbrev*, pp. 20–22 and 25–33. Many of the charters are for Nydala abbey: see below, pp. 224–5.

[40] A point nicely made by Bagge, 'Ideologies and Mentalities', pp. 477–8, one of a few commentators to reject the assumption that the Scandinavian laity was only reluctantly Christian.

known Romanesque churches have always gone above two thousand, sometimes considerably higher.[41]

The completion of the interdisciplinary project studying Sweden's Christianisation coincided with the accession of Sweden to the European Union in 1995, and the scholarly rhetoric came to reflect this, sometimes inadvertently, sometimes no doubt deliberately. 'Europeanisation' became the *mot du jour*, and publications were given titles such as *When Sweden Became European*.[42] 'Europeanisation' has nonetheless proved a remarkably successful and resilient conceptual framework for understanding central-medieval processes of cultural, social, and political change, not only in Scandinavia. The most successful exploration of the Europeanisation topos in the 1990s, taking it well beyond the clichés of contemporary politics, was by a British historian, Robert Bartlett, in his *The Making of Europe*, subtitled *Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350*. Broad English-language treatments of high-medieval Europe, and twelfth-century Europe in particular, have often concentrated on the West – on Northern France and Southern England – but Bartlett described a process of transformation at its most intense at the frontiers of Latin Christendom, an often violent imposition (likened with some success to modern colonialism) of strong but modifiable 'legal and institutional blueprints or models', which resulted in considerable cultural homogeneity: Europe not as geographical entity, but as a concept, which expanded from the old-Christian core to the new-Christian periphery in the central middle ages.[43] By introducing problems traditionally treated only in national historiographies into a large context and time period, Bartlett managed to convey the dynamism of subjects as infected as German *Ostsiedlung* productively, without causing offence.[44] Bartlett's narrative is

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[41] Jes Wienberg has counted 2391: *Den gotiske labyrint*, pp. 73–7. See also section 5:1:1 below, pp. 215–20.

[42] Hallencreutz, *När Sverige blev europeiskt.*

[43] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (quotation from p. 309). See also Chris Wickham's review, 'Making Europes', which comments on the book's topicality.

[44] On the reception of *The Making of Europe* in East and East-Central Europe, see Górecki, 'Medieval "East Colonization" in Post-War North American and British Historiography'.

compelling both because it avoids glorifying the 'civilising' forces which expanded Latin Christendom – indeed, the agents of Europeanisations are portrayed as rapacious and brutal – and because it is, at the same time, resolutely unsentimental about pre-Europeanised Europe.

Thinking of Scandinavia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as undergoing a process of Europeanisation serves to underline similarities with other regions at the edges of western Christendom – notably Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. These regions can be characterised as 'frontier' regions – a sometime controversial, but now very widespread appellation – which, from the point of view of the European heartlands, presented both dangers and great opportunities for exploitation and expansion.[45] The apparent incongruities within a church that was both rudimentary in appearance and, at the same time, vigorously expansive and up-to-date, as described above, can also be explained as typical of 'frontier' conditions. A number of publications have taken their cue from Bartlett to develop this subject, and looked for similarities and differences within peripheral Europe in the central middle ages, in terms of both religious and political history.[46] Inevitably, some points of contention with Bartlett's version of events have arisen. To some, Bartlett has overstressed the role of violence in the Europeanisation process (further emphasised by the title of the German translation of *The Making of Europe*: *Die Geburt Europas durch den Geist der Gewalt*, 'The Birth of Europe through the Spirit of Violence'): 'In the north of the continent, the "Europeanisation" of Europe was driven more by

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[45] See Burns, 'The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages', along with other articles in Bartlett and McKay, ed., *Medieval Frontier Societies*. See also (for Hungary) Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom* and ead., 'Hungary in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries'.

[46] Notably a series of collected articles from the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Bergen: see for example Garipzanov, Geary, and Urbanczyk, ed., *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs* and Mortensen, ed., *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom*. See also, importantly, Berend, ed., *Christianization and the Rise of the Christian Monarchy*, where accounts of the Christianisations of the regions in question are conveniently juxtaposed. Other publications have had a specifically Baltic perspective: see, for example, Kattinger, Olsen and Wernicke, ed., *Der Ostseeraum und Kontinentaleuropa*.

trade and by peaceful means, than by the knight's sword. Violence, it must be emphasised, was not the mother of Europe everywhere'.[47] This is certainly true, and although German settlement was important in Scandinavia from the thirteenth century, it was confined mostly to towns, and the mercantile class. In quantitative terms too, German settlement in Scandinavia occurred on a much lower scale than in East Central Europe, and there can be no question that Scandinavia was never the victim of 'colonisation' in this period, German or otherwise.[48] This said, Scandinavian European-ness was forged in a context strongly marked by colonial exploits: in the differentiation and marginalisation of the Sámi nomadic tribes in the arctic north; in the long-lasting, and sometimes intensely violent, missionary and exploitative warfare carried out in the lands on the eastern and southern shores of the Baltic – the so-called 'Baltic crusades'.[49] In this respect, the Scandinavian kingdoms, like Poland, were agents and recipients of the process of Europeanisation at the same time.

1:2:2. Cultural Transfer – Centre and Periphery – Civilisation and Barbarity

As mentioned above, the term 'influence' is of limited usefulness for describing the reception of the culture of one area in another: it suggests passivity on the part of the recipient, and cultural and intellectual goods flowing into an empty vessel. A more appropriate concept might be that of 'cultural transfer' (or *Kulturtransfer*), a term at first used by historians of the nineteenth century, but just as useful for the medievalist: it presupposes active recipients, who shape the process by which 'foreign' influences are incorporated into their own culture. The term has become increasingly frequent among German medievalists working on *transkulturelle*

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[47] Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt*, p. 242: 'Die „Europäisierung" Europas wurde im Norden des Kontinents also mehr durch den Handel und auf friedlichem Weg als durch das Schwert der Ritter gefördert. Gewalt, so muß man festhalten, war nicht überall die Mutter Europas'.

[48] See, for comparison, Fügedi, 'Das mittelalterliche Königreich von Ungarn als Gastland' and Zientara, 'Die deutschen Einwanderer in Polen'.

[49] For what is still the best English-language account of this increasingly popular subject, see Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*.

Studien, 'trans-cultural studies', a popular flavour of comparative history.[50] With respect to Scandinavia, it has been used as a conceptual underpinning for the analysis of a prosopographical survey of Scandinavians travelling to the European Continent and the British Isles in the period 1000–1250, by Dominik Waßenhoven.[51] Cultural transfer takes place by instances of meaningful 'trans-cultural' contact, in the movement of people or particular types of objects – in the context of this thesis, travelling priests and liturgical books.

It has been suggested that the term 'cultural transfer' be replaced by 'intercultural transfer', to avoid suggesting that the process involves a *Hochkultur* bestowing its advantages on its inferiors.[52] However, as noted by Waßenhoven, it is unclear why the term 'intercultural' is necessarily any better.[53] The question is, furthermore, whether this is even desirable in the study of cultural transfer in the process of medieval Europeanisation. Even if the terms 'central' and 'peripheral' sound neutral and non-judgemental compared to, say, 'cultured' and 'barbaric', or 'civilised' and 'backward', they are – at least in the usage of the overwhelming majority of historians – cultural constructs, based on similar assumptions of a hierarchical relationship between one area and another. The assumption is that the central, at any given time, is in a process of achieving dominance over the peripheral: the peripheral is representative of the past, and the central representative of the future. It should be stressed that this assumption does not necessarily betray a negative view of the peripheral: indeed, the idea of an archaic, 'uncorrupted' past can have a powerful pull on both popular and scholarly imaginations.[54] In a Scandinavian

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[50] Notably at the institute for comparative history of the European middle ages based in Berlin (*Institut für vergleichende Geschichte Europas im Mittelalter*). See for example the papers collected in Borgolte, ed., *Das europäische Mittelalter im Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs*.

[51] Waßenhoven, *Skandinavier unterwegs in Europa*; for an introduction to the concept of cultural transfer, see ibid., pp. 30–32.

[52] Paulmann, 'Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien'.

[53] Waßenhoven, *Skandinavier unterwegs in Europa*, p. 32.

[54] See, for an introduction, Pohl, 'Ursprungserzählungen und Gegenbilder'.

academic establishment dominated first by Protestantism, later by secularism, this is particularly noticeable in the attitude to pre-Christian culture and society.

There are two ways of getting beyond the constructed aspects of centre and periphery: first, they could be taken as solely geographical characteristics. To my knowledge, the only serious attempt at such an analysis is that of Michael Borgolte, who in his introductory book on Europe in the central middle ages has combined the sections on Scandinavia and the Iberian peninsula into one chapter, as the 'extremities' of Europe. As arrangements for comparative history go, however, this is somewhat tortuous, and Borgolte has found few opportunities for sustained comparison.[55] The fact of the matter is that some of the lands generally taken to be part of the European periphery in this period (Hungary, for example) are as central as central can be in geographical terms. Second, one could think of centre and periphery in entirely materialist terms, as characterised by different modes of production and consumption. This has recently been attempted by Nils Blomkvist, who, inspired by more-or-less Marxist theoreticians, has tried to place the 'discovery of the Baltic' in a 'Catholic world system', supposedly characteristic of Europe in the central middle ages, where the 'core' exploited the 'semi-peripheries' and 'peripheries'.[56] For the purposes of cultural and religious history, however, such an approach is unsatisfactory (and the 'Catholic' element of Blomkvist's world-system is never entirely clear). Instead, like Bartlett's Europe, it seems better to confront 'centre' and 'periphery' – or indeed 'barbarity' and 'civilisation' – as the constructs (and, often, unfair stereotypes) they are.

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[55] Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt*, pp. 142–67; central-medieval Spain and Scandinavia have in common, according to Borgolte, a) 'that they are almost entirely surrounded by the sea'; and b) 'the differentiation of states, the gradual expansion of Christendom, and internal cultural homogenisation' (ibid., pp. 142 and 144–5: 'daß sie vom Meer fast vollständig umgeben sind ... die staatliche Differenzierung, die schrittweise Ausdehnung des Christentums, und die kulturelle Homogenisierung im innern'). Otherwise, differences dominate the chapter.

[56] Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic*.

Such an approach also goes some way to avoiding anachronism: that is, for all that the idea of the superiority of one culture over another seems repugnant to the modern, liberal historian, such notions were often present among the people he or she studies. Such notions can also directly influence cultural transfer, by encouraging or discouraging contact and mobility between centre and periphery. More elusively, since it was not the stuff of history to any self-respecting chronicler, the perception of cultural inferiority on the part of the recipient can encourage the transfer of central culture to the peripheral. From the central perspective, the northern European periphery, it was thought, suffered from rough locals and a debilitating climate – an inherently hostile environment for Christianity.[57] 'All those barbarous peoples who in far-distant islands frequent the ice-bound ocean, living as they do like beasts – who could call them Christians?' asked Urban II, in William of Malmesbury's version of his rallying sermon for the First Crusade at Clermont in 1095.[58] When Pope Eugenius III sent his legate Nicholas Breakspear, cardinal bishop of Albano, on a two-and-a-half-year tour of Scandinavia in 1152, Nicholas went, according to his biographer, to *partes Noruegerie* 'to preach the word of life in that province and apply himself to the winning of souls for the Almighty God', and thus 'diligently instructed that barbarous and rude people in the Christian law and enlightened them with Church teachings'[59].

These statements are, in many ways, misleading.[60] Cold is no self-evident obstacle to a Christian life. Norway, by 1152, had been ruled over by Christian kings for over

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[57] For an analysis of perceptions of the Scandinavian north among medieval Saxon chroniclers, see Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden.*

[58] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* IV:347 (ed. and transl. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom I, 600–1): 'omnem illam barbariem quae in remotis insulis glatialem frequentat oceanum, quia more beluino uictitat, Christianam quis dixerit?'.

[59] Boso, *Vita Adriani*, edited and translated in Bolton and Duggan, ed., *Adrian IV*, pp. 214–15: '...quatinus verbum vite in ipsa provincia predicaret et ad faciendum omnipotenti Deo animarum lucrum studeret ... gentem illam barbaram et rudem in lege christiana diligenter instruxit et ecclesiasticis eruditionibus informavit'.

[60] Similar attitudes existed vis-à-vis Poland: Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes and Society*, p. 21.

a century and a half; scribes were already copying national histories in Latin; there were communities of nuns, monks, and canons; the cult of the royal saint, Olav Haraldsson, had been flourishing since soon after his death in 1030, and his shrine in Nidaros (modern-day Trondheim) was a popular site of pilgrimage; in rural areas, churches were being built in stone or delicately carved wood, at great speed and in great numbers; as elsewhere in Europe, internal strife was couched in terms of a struggle between secularists and church-reformers. Cardinal Nicholas was, in fact, not in Scandinavia to preach, but to assess whether Norway and Sweden should have their own archbishops.[61] Nonetheless, the language employed by his biographer must not be discounted: it reveals something of the attitude in the old lands of Latin Christianity to its new lands. Such attitudes were remarkably resilient, and will be encountered several times in the present thesis. With respect to Denmark (at least), they seem to have largely dissipated by around 1200, even if memories of barbarity lingered. Arnold of Lübeck's description of the Danes who 'adjust themselves to other nations', both *usum Teutonicorum imitantes* and by sending the sons of the nobility to study in Paris, is a remarkable example of contemporary awareness of the process of European cultural homogenisation.[62] At around the same time, Saxo could mock Frederick I for his shaky Latin, which forced the emperor to employ the archbishop of Cologne as an interpreter in the negotiations with the Danish bishop Absalon.[63] The tables had been turned.

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[61] On Nicholas's legateship to Scandinavia, see the overview by Bergquist: 'The Papal Legate: Nicholas Breakspear's Scandinavian Mission' and Johnsen, *Studier vedrørende kardinal Nikolaus Brekespears legasjon*.

[62] And duly cited by Bartlett: *The Making of Europe*, p. 289; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum* III:5 (ed. Pertz, p. 77): 'se ceteris nationes coaptant'.

[63] Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XIV:28:14: ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg II, 307; Christiansen, transl., *Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum regum heroumque* II, 462.

2. The Mechanics of Christianisation

Introduction

In the tale that bears his name, Þórvaldr Koðránsson 'the far-travelled', an Icelandic saga hero, has returned to his father's farm after some years at sea, raiding the British Isles under the exiled prince of Denmark, Sven Forkbeard. On his travels, Þórvaldr has converted to Christianity, and brings with him to Iceland a German bishop, Frederick. Þórvaldr's father Koðrán at first stubbornly sticks to his pagan ways, but is gradually won over by the bishop and his assistants:

> At a certain feast, when Bishop Frederick and his clerics were celebrating the hours and the divine office, Koðrán was standing nearby, more out of curiosity than because he had any intention to agree with their religion at that time. But when he heard the sound of the bells, and the beautiful chant of the clerics, and smelled the sweet scent of incense, and saw the bishop dressed in splendid garments, and all those who served him, dressed in white clothes with bright faces, and the great brightness in the whole building from the beautiful wax tapers, and other things belonging to the celebration of the feast, then all these things pleased him rather well.[64]

It takes miracles to eventually convert the father, but what for some time threatens to turn into a conventional tale of missionary marvels ends in a falling-out between Bishop Frederick and his patron Þórvaldr, who, faced with a slanderous verse about

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[64] *Þórvalds þáttr víðförla* (ed. Þórleifur Jónsson, p. 483; cf. the slightly different translation by Porter: 'The tale of Thorvald the Far-travelled', p. 361): 'Á nökkuri hátíð, þá er Friðrekr biskup með sínum klerkum framdi tíðagerð ok guðligt embætti, var Koðrán nær staddr, meirr sakar forvitni enn hann ætlaði sér at samþykkja at sinni þeira siðferði. Enn er hann heyrði klukkna-hljóð ok fagran klerkasöng, ok kendi sætan reykelsis-ilm, enn sá biskup vegligum skrúða skrýddan, ok alla þá, er honum þjónuðu, klædda hvítum klæðum með björtu yfirbragði, ok þar með birti mikla um allt húsit af fögru vaxkertaljósi, ok aðra hlúti, sem til heyrðu því hátíðarhaldi, þá þóknuðust honum allir þessir hlútir heldr vel'.

him fathering nine children with his bishop, cannot control his violent impulses and kills the poet. This subversion of generic motives is typical of the Icelandic sagas at their best, and the resultant verisimilitude is deceptive. Nonetheless, the notion that Koðrán would have been attracted to the Christian faith by the beauty of its ritual is not implausible, and worth considering. There are numerous early medieval examples from hagiographical texts of how the liturgical activity of missionaries both attracted the attention of pagans, and ensured that Christianity was marked out as something new, and entirely different.[65]

Liturgy could also be instructive, particularly in its more dramatic forms: Henry of Livonia described how, in 1204, at the behest of Bishop Albert of Livonia, 'a very elaborate play of the prophets was performed in the middle of Riga in order that the pagans might learn the rudiments of the Christian faith by an ocular demonstration. The subject of this play was most diligently explained to both converts and pagans by an interpreter'.[66] Even if foreign clergy active in Scandinavia in the tenth and eleventh centuries did not have the resources to stage biblical reenactments of this kind (and certainly not the military support to control the pagan crowds enjoyed by Bishop Albert), biblical narrative and its careful explanation and interpretation no doubt played their part in furthering the Christianisation process. More importantly, liturgical activity offered an opportunity to demonstrate the outward machinery of the new religion – it was all well and good for a missionary to tell his audience to worship the Christian God, but he also had to show how to do it. It is almost a truism among modern scholars of religion that 'it is in ritual – that is, consecrated behavior – that [the] conviction that religious conceptions are veridical and that religious directives are sound is somehow generated ... [and] it is, primarily at least, out of the concrete acts of religious observance that religious conviction emerges on the human

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[65] Hen, 'Missionaries and Liturgy', pp. 343–7.

[66] Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* IX:14 (ed. Arbusow and Bauer, p. 44; transl. Brundage, p. 53): 'factus est ludus prophetarum ordinatissimus in media Riga, ut fidei christiane rudimenta gentilitas fide disceret oculata. Cuius ludi materia tam neophitis quam paganis, qui aderant, per interpretem diligentissime exponebatur'.

plane'.[67] Consequently, it was vital to the earliest generations of clergy in Scandinavia that such rituals were performed with regularity and rigour, and in a manner which seemed attractive and convincing to the laity.

The concerns raised above may be of relevance primarily to an earlier period of Scandinavian history than that which is under consideration here (albeit with important exceptions, such as – at least – parts of Sweden in the second half of the eleventh century), and some of the more general discussion below will inevitably be concerned with the earliest, missionary phase of the Christianisation process. However, also in the phase of the Christianisation process when a mass resurgence of public paganism was no longer a risk, liturgy continued to play an important part. Furthermore, it offers an interesting entry-point for the historian interested in the period. The reasons for which the Christianisation of Scandinavia can seem such a lengthy process were, in part, practical. Churches had to be built; thousands of clergy had to be trained locally or imported from abroad; and books, vestments, and other liturgical objects had to be supplied. This was complicated, and took time. Here, I will call this aspect of the Christianisation process 'the mechanics of Christianisation' – that is, how the formation of the new religion functioned in physical reality, including the material aspects of cultural transfer. The focus will be on two particular components of 'the mechanics of Christianisation': on how the Scandinavian churches acquired their service books in the second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth, when the conventional European frameworks for the production and diffusion of liturgical books were not yet in place or fully developed in the north; and on the role played by cultural transfer from Germany in this process. As there are very few surviving literary sources from this period where Scandinavians expressed their personal religiosity (the skaldic poetry mentioned in chapter one above is an important exception), approaching the subject of Christianisation from an avowedly practical angle also helps to overcome some of the limitations of the evidence. It should be stressed that this is not an attempt to dehumanise or de-individualise the subject-matter, or to say that personal religious

[67] Geertz, 'Religion as a cultural system', pp. 112–13.

conviction was not important – but there can be no absolute dichotomy between 'internal' religious conviction and 'external' religious behaviour, and in many cases it is neither possible nor desirable to distinguish between the two.

2:1. Christianisation, Liturgy, and Liturgical Books

2:1:1. The Missionary Liturgy – The Missionary Book

Was there such a thing as medieval missionary liturgy? The question is more difficult to answer than one might think.[68] There are some rites which can be associated with conversion, in the sense of the transition from one religion to another. The most notable, in a Scandinavian context, is that of so-called *primsigning* (sometimes translated as 'prime-signing'): the ritual entrance into the catechumenate.[69] As infant baptism became the universal norm in the early medieval west, such rites were usually incorporated into the baptismal ceremony.[70] Missionary work, however, presented different circumstances, which were recognised in a number of liturgical books containing a separate *ordo ad catechumenum ex pagano faciendum*.[71] The earliest witness to this rite is the so-called Gelasian sacramentary, and it continues to appear in later sacramentaries, including some *Junggelasianer* ('Gelasian sacramentaries of the eighth century'), and in pontificals, compilations of episcopal liturgy.[72] The fullest version can be

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[68] For an excellent overview, if concerned entirely with the early middle ages, see Hen, 'Missionaries and Liturgy'; see further Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, pp. 185–206.

[69] Molland, 'Primsigning'.

[70] Stenzel, *Die Taufe*, pp. 171–7.

[71] Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*, pp. 203–4.

[72] *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, LXXI (ed. Wilson, pp. 113–14); and the analysis by Chavasse: *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 172–6. Chavasse argued that the rite was Roman in origin – suggestions that it was not had 'greatly embarrassed [him]' ('nous ont beacoup embarrassé'); on the sometimes exaggerated attention given to Rome by traditional liturgists, see below, pp. 210–12. On the 'eight-century Gelasians', see Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary*, and for an example, *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis* no. 346 (ed. Dumas I, 347–8). The *ordo* also occurs in Göttingen,

found in the pontificals of the so-called Romano-Germanic type (*PRG*).[73] This version of the *ordo* assumes that the initiation into the catechumenate is immediately followed by baptism, and includes a slightly modified baptismal ceremony.[74] Literary evidence from Scandinavia, on the other hand, tells a different story. According to Rimbert's Life of Ansgar, the pagans north of the Elbe were in many cases willing to accept baptism. Some, however, preferred to be 'signed with the cross in order to become catechumens, and that they might enter the church and be present at the sacred offices; but they deferred the reception of baptism, as they judged that it was to their advantage to be baptised at the end of their life, so that, having been cleansed by water unto salvation, they might without any delay enter the gates of eternal life as those who were pure and spotless'.[75] Centuries later, the same motif recurred in the Icelandic sagas, although their interpretation of why

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Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 231, a tenth-century 'mixed' Gregorian-Gelasian from Fulda, used as the principal witness in the modern edition of the Fulda sacramentary (*Sacramentarium Fuldense*, no. 477: ed. Richter and Schönfelden, pp. 354–5), despite being considerably fuller than any other Fulda sacramentary, particularly in its inclusion of *ordines* of this kind: Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda*, pp. 132–3, 153–6 (on the relation between the Göttingen manuscript and the *PRG*), and 187–92. On the Fulda sacramentaries in their historical context, see Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination* II, 124–57. On early pontificals, see Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux*.

[73] *PRG* CX (ed. Vogel and Elze II, 167–71).

[74] Cf. *PRG* CVII (the baptismal *ordo*: ibid., pp. 155–64); *PRG* CX adds an exorcism of the water in the font, with a formula taken from the Gelasian baptismal rite for the sick (Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*, pp. 225–6), presumably in anticipation of rudimentary material circumstances. The interrogative Apostles' creed, first heard at the beginning of the ceremony, is repeated after the candidate has been anointed, just before the act of baptism, in *PRG* CX (CX:29: ed. Vogel and Elze II, 171; cf. p. 163) but not in *PRG* CVII. After the concluding baptismal formula (*Accipe vestem sanctam, candidam et immaculatam*), *PRG* CX adds two prayers (CX:34–5: ibid., p. 171; cf. p. 163); these prayers are also taken from the Gelasian baptismal rites for the sick (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum* LXXV: ed. Wilson, p. 117).

[75] Rimbert, *Vita Ansgarii* XXIV (ed. and transl. Buchner and Trillmich, *Quellen*, pp. 80–3; transl. Robinson, p. 84–5): 'signaculum crucis recipiebant, ut catecumini fierent, quo eis ecclesiam ingredi et sacris officiis interesse liceret, baptismi tamen perceptionem differebant, hoc sibi bonum diiudicantes, ut in fine vitae suae baptizarentur, quatinus purificati lavacro salutari, puri et inmaculati vitae aeternae ianuas absque aliqua retardatione intrarent'.

baptism was rejected in favour of *primsigning* was more cynical: taking the sign of the cross 'was common custom then among both merchants and mercenaries who dealt with Christians. Anyone who had taken the cross could mix freely with both Christians and heathens, while keeping the faith that they pleased'.[76] The argument is frequent in both the *íslendingasögur* ('sagas of the Icelanders', or 'family sagas') and the sagas of Norwegian kings.[77] *Primsigning*, in the saga context, was a compromise, whereby the unprincipled Scandinavian could associate with both Christians and pagans, and present himself as an adherent of whichever religion suited the situation.

In the *PRG*, the *ordo ad catechumenum ex pagano faciendum* begins with the same formulas as the catechism of the ordinary baptismal rite.[78] After the candidate has renounced Satan, has been interrogated on his faith (the conversion-*ordo*, unlike most baptismal rites, makes no separate provisions for female candidates), and has been exsufflated (the minister blows his breath three times in the face of the candidate, as part of the pre-baptismal exorcism), the minister makes the sign of the cross twice, first on the candidate's forehead, then on his chest, saying 'I place the sign of the cross of our Saviour Lord Jesus Christ in your forehead/chest'.[79] In the usual baptismal liturgy, the candidate is crossed only on the forehead with the

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[76] *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* L (ed. Nordal, p. 128; transl. Scudder, pp. 80–1): 'því at þat var þá mikill siðr, bæði með kaupmönnum ok þeim mönnum, er á mála gengu með kristnum mönnum, því at þeir menn, er prímsignaðir váru, höfðu allt samneyti við kristna menn ok svá heiðna, en höfðu þat at átrúnaði, er þeim var skapfelldast'.

[77] Molland, 'Primsigning', cols 441–3.

[78] *PRG* CVII (ed. Vogel and Elze II,. 155–64); see also Andrieu, ed. *Les ordines Romani* V, 261–96 (*Ordo Romanus* L:29), and cf. the earlier *Ordo Romanus* XI: ibid. II, 415–47; on these texts, see (from a theological point of view) Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, pp. 140–55 and Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*, pp. 201–31.

[79] *PRG* CX:5–6 (ed. Vogel and Elze II, 167): 'Signum crucis salvatoris domini nostri Iesu Christi in fronte tua [pectore tuo] pono'.

standard Trinitarian formula (*in nomine Patri et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*).[80] The twofold crossing of the convert is followed by three prayers, two of which depart from the ordinary baptismal *ordo* of the *PRG* and the Gelasian sacramentary. The first, beginning *Accipe signum crucis Christi*, is an exhortation to the candidate to 'live in such a way that you may become the temple of God: enter the Church of God and joyfully acknowledge that you have cast off the toils of death. Let horror turn you from idols, disgust from images'.[81] The second proper prayer asks of God to 'command that this your servant, who now wanders uncertain and doubtful in the darkness of this world, be shown the way of truth and of the knowledge of you: that the eyes of his heart being opened he may acknowledge that you are one God, the Father in the Son and the Son in the Father, and receive the fruit of this confession both here and in the world to come'.[82] It seems to anticipate some of the knottier aspects of doctrinal explanation which could face a minister blessing an inquisitive catechumen (and could even contain traces of anti-Arian argumentation).[83] The rite then follows common baptismal practice for the blessing of the salt; after the salt has been distributed, the conversion *ordo* contains a proper benediction. Here, the most important difference with the common baptismal *ordo* is, literally, one of mood: a somewhat tentative subjunctive for the adult convert catechumen ('may he come to the fount of the laver [so] that being reborn by water and the Holy Spirit he may strip off the old man and put on the new'); a resolute imperative for the infant

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[80] *PRG* CVII:5 (ibid. II, 155); cf. *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* LXXI (ed. Wilson, p. 113; transl. Whitaker, *Documents*, p. 239), where the rubric seems to assume that the sign of cross be made in the ordinary fashion for the pre-baptismal ceremony.

[81] *PRG* CX:7 (ed. Vogel and Elze II, 167–8); or, alternatively, *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* LXXI (ed. Wilson, pp. 113–14; transl. Whitaker, *Documents*, p. 239): 'talis esto moribus, ut templum Dei esse iam possis, ingressusque aecclesiam Dei evasisse te laqueos mortis laetus agnosce. Horresce idola, respue simulacra'.

[82] *PRG* CX:8 (ed. Vogel and Elze II, 168); or *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* LXXI (ed. Wilson, p. 114; transl. Whitaker, *Documents*, p. 240): 'ut huic famulo tuo, qui in saeculi huius nocte vagatur incertus et dubius, viam veritatis et agnitionis tuae iubeas demonstrari, quatinus, reseratis oculis cordis sui, te unum Deum patrem in filio et filium in patre cum spirito sancto recognoscat atque huius confessionis fructum et hic et in futuro saeculo percipere mereatur..

[83] Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, p. 173.

catechumen, about to be baptised in the very near future ('Lord ... lead him to the laver of the second birth').[84]

These are textual differences – literary differences, one could say. The most obvious difference in ritual terms, on the other hand, is a considerable reduction in scale. Baptismal *ordines*, from the Carolingian period and in the following centuries, tended to preserve an expectation of baptism being a seasonal event, celebrated in a cathedral – of catechumenal scrutiny being extended over a period of several days in Lent, and the baptism itself taking place on Easter Saturday. The *ordines* assume, furthermore, the presence of a choir, a whole hierarchy of clergy, and a bishop. In reality, circumstances were often different, and the baptismal *ordines* for pagan converts, along with those for the sick, are in some ways probably a better reflection of actual practice in the rural church. They did not require a free-standing font (rare before the early twelfth century), spit could be substituted for the chrism, and the time-scale of the rite was entirely different: a matter of minutes rather than days. Susan Keefe has noted several instances of healthy infants being baptised according to the rites for the sick in Carolingian Francia.[85] It should also be noted that it remains uncertain quite how widespread the *ordo ad catechumenum ex pagano faciendum* was – in terms of the manuscript context, it is (as noted above) mainly found in large-scale pontificals or heavily supplemented sacramentaries. In many cases, *primsigning* likely occurred simply as an incomplete baptismal ceremony, interrupted at the end of the pre-baptismal exorcism, probably according to the emergency protocol for the infirm. Increasingly from the late tenth century, and in most cases when conversions took place in Scandinavia, particularly under the aegis of a strong, Christian secular authority, candidates would have been 'prime-signed' and baptised within the same day or week, in the normal fashion.

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[84] *PRG* CX:12 and CVII:11 (ed. Vogel and Elze II, 168 and 156–7; transl. Whitaker, *Documents*, pp. 240 and 216): 'Perveniat ad lavacri fontem et renatus ex aqua et spiritu sancto, expoliatus veterem hominem induatur novum' and 'domine ... Perduc eum ad novae regenerationis lavacrum'.

[85] Keefe, *The Water and the Word* I, 156–8.

The *ordo ad catechumenum ex pagano faciendum* must not be confused with the better-known *Ordo de catechizandis rudibus*, an early ninth-century Frankish explication of both the ritual and pedagogical aspects of pre-baptismal instruction.[86] This, in turn, is not to be confused with another text from around the same time, the *Ratio de catechizandis rudibus* (both texts take as their starting point St Augustine's treatise *De catechizandis rudibus*).[87] Neither of these is an *ordo* in the strict liturgical sense: rather, they are instructive texts, explaining both the purpose and procedure of ritualised instruction. The corpus of Carolingian baptismal expositions, of which these catechetical tracts form a small sub-genre, is extraordinarily rich: some sixty-one texts, surviving in hundreds of manuscripts.[88] Charlemagne himself took a personal interest in the meaning and form of baptism, and issued an enquiry about baptism to his bishops in around 812, to ensure that they knew both what questions were likely to be asked at baptismal ceremonies, and that they had suitable answers ready.[89] In part, the reason behind the enquiry was a concern for more effective pastoral care, but questions about the meaning and practice of baptism also resulted from dilemmas arising in the mission field – by 812, a number of texts already existed on this subject, several of them by Alcuin, whose moral objections to enforced mass conversion informed his insistence on thorough and effective instruction.[90]

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[86] The text is edited with notes in Keefe, *The Water and the Word* II, 480–8 and in part in McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 211–15; cf. the earlier edition in Burn, 'Neue Texte', pp. 149–54.

[87] The *Ratio de catechizandis rudibus* is edited in Heer, *Ein karolingischer Missions-Katechismus*, at pp. 8–49.

[88] See the list in Keefe, 'Carolingian Baptismal Expositions' and ead., *The Water and the Word*, which contains a critical edition of all sixty-one texts.

[89] Stenzel, *Die Taufe*, pp. 247–54; Nelson, 'Parents, Children, and the Church', pp. 97–9.

[90] On Alcuin and baptism, see Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven', pp. 41–8; further Bouhot, 'Alcuin et le «De cathecizandis rudibus»', on his dept to St Augustine of Hippo. For Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus*, see Bauer, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustine De fide rerum invisibilium* etc., pp. 115–79; or the older edition and English translation by Christopher: *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis episcopi de catechizandis rudibus liber unus*.

These Carolingian texts had a long afterlife, and continued to be copied into the twelfth century. However, with the exception of some cases where a text appears in a manuscript seemingly compiled for a missionary, most were probably never intended to be used specifically to aid the conversion of adult pagans.[91] Neither the rituals of initiation nor the rituals of instruction were, of course, confined to the missionary situation – in this sense, as noted above in the introduction, Christianisation was an ever-ongoing process. Baptism was always a ritual of conversion, both because it rescued the candidate from the pre-Christian void into the presence of God, and because the rite was markedly anti-demonic throughout.[92] To understand what distinguished liturgical activity in a situation where a whole society was undergoing a process of profound religious change, it is therefore necessary to turn to ritual practice, and – since actual ritual practice is seldom retrievable, and narrative sources are few – to the preconditions for ritual practice. In this respect, limitations are as important as texts. These practical aspects are also of relevance to understanding the immediate post-missionary environments, where persuasion to convert was not necessarily on the agenda any longer, but the clergy were still operating in rudimentary conditions, and Christian institutions were still in a process of consolidation.

In broad terms, the liturgy of the medieval missionary was shaped by two practical aspects: first, the lack of a conventional material basis for liturgical celebration – that is, no choirs were available, no permanent altars, no church bells, and so on. Second, the liturgy of the missionary was, by necessity, pontifical in nature: it required the performance of rites usually associated with bishops, such as the consecration of churches and altars. This is one of the reasons for which the leader of a group of missionaries, or indeed sometimes a solitary missionary, was usually called a bishop in narrative sources, even if his office and circumstances were entirely different from those of a bishop in a city, with a cathedral, a chapter, and a

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[91] Keefe, *Water and the Word* I, 22–41.

[92] The point is made throughout Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*.

whole hierarchy of clergy at his disposal.[93] To put it in the most basic terms, the missionary liturgy had to be both solemn and itinerant. A relevant parallel is the design and liturgy of the portable altar, recently analysed by Éric Palazzo, which 'demonstrates the willingness of Christian theology to think of the sacred space of the church, not only in terms of the consecrated space of the church building, but also in considering infinite space, contained outside the church walls, and marked by the presence of the portable altar'.[94]

Similar observations can be made with respect to liturgical books. That is, on the one hand, liturgical books could be used to impress. An illuminated codex was an object of great potency in the mission field. It has been observed that the word 'missionary' is an anachronism when speaking of the middle ages – the earliest attestation of an etymological equivalent used in the modern sense was in 1610 – but the writers of earlier centuries had a perfectly good word for the most important part of missionary activity: *evangelizare*, to evangelise.[95] The gospel book, at last until complete bibles began to become more widespread in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was the most prestigious of Christian books.[96] The most emblematic of missionary saints, Boniface, was said to have been martyred protecting himself with a book; and in later iconography and written descriptions – beginning with the Life by Otloh of St Emmeram from the 1060s – this book often became a gospel book (even if the actual codex associated with the occasion, the so-called Codex Ragyndrudis, kept at Fulda,

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[93] On the careers of bishops with German affiliations active in Scandinavia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see ch. 3:2:3 below, pp. 135–64.

[94] Palazzo, *L'espace rituel et le sacré*, p. 187 : 'montre la volonté de la théologie chrétienne de penser l'espace sacré de l'Église non seulement à partir de l'espace consacré de l'église-bâtiment, mais aussi en considérant l'espace infini, compris au-delà des murs de l'église et marqué par la présence de l'autel portatif'.

[95] von Padberg, *Mission und Christianisierung*, p. 30.

[96] In Germany, gospel books and deluxe sacramentaries were fundamental cultic objects and markers of identity in religious institutions, until the appearance of multi-volume so-called giant bibles, which have been considered a 'Gregorian' phenomenon by some scholars: Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, pp. 175–211.

with what appears to be damage from a sword, axe, or knife, is a collection of anti-Arian tracts).[97] On the other hand, missionaries needed books for other purposes than their visual impressiveness (or, for that matter, for self-defense). They needed what in German is called *Gebrauchsbücher*, books for everyday usage, ideally portable or at least suitable for travelling, collecting the kind of rites and other texts which were useful in the mission field. The problem here is that, looking at surviving manuscripts, it is difficult to distinguish between a missionary book and a book for 'conventional' pastoral care. In most cases, it comes down to what is known about the manuscript's medieval context: its intended or actual users, its provenance or later history.

There is, in fact, a highly interesting surviving manuscript from a time and place of relevance to this thesis, which, by these criteria, does seem to fit into a missionary context, and to hold considerable interest for the subject at hand: a portable mass compendium, normally dated to the eleventh or early twelfth century, which can be associated with the church of Hamburg. This is Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B 141. It has been variously described – as a 'fragment of a missal', which it clearly is not, and as a 'ritual-votive missal', which seems a better appellation.[98] The manuscript is very modest in appearance: it measures around 220×130 mm, and contains 86 folios of main text, not including later paper additions.[99] It bears the

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[97] Otloh of St Emmeram, *Vita sancti Bonifatii* II:27 (ed. Levison, p. 211); see Aris, 'Erzähltes Sterben' for a comparison of hagiographical accounts of Boniface's martyrdom; on the Codex Ragyndrudis (Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Bonifatianus 2), see von Padberg, *Studien zur Bonifatiusverehrung*, pp. 11–44; von Padberg, through minute forensic examination, has concluded that the book was in fact *not* used as a shield by St Boniface at Dokkum on 5 June 754.

[98] Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen*, p. 200: 'Bruchstück eines *Missale plenum*'; cf. Kartsovnik, '"Liber ecclesiae Hamburgensis"', p. 13. The term ritual-votive missal is from Rasmussen, 'An Early «Ordo Missae»', and was repeated by Stevenson, 'The Marriage-Rite'.

[99] At the beginning of the manuscript, four paper folios have been added, numbered separately i-iv. These contain a description of the manuscript signed H. M. Bannister, 1896. Bannister dated the book to the eighth century. These are followed by a note by Augustin Theiner on fol. 1v8–21; it was written 15 December 1839, and is in Latin. Theiner, who later became prefect of the Vatican archives, acquired the manuscript at some point after it was sold at an auction together with the rest of

marks of frequent and prolonged usage and the ink has faded. In the whole book, only five chants have been given musical notation, and in four cases only the incipits; several chants have however been prepared for neumes, but were never notated.[100] There are two illuminated leaves: the first word of the *Vere dignum* at the beginning of the *Praefatio communis* to the *Canon missae* (fol. 32r) has been written out in decorated capitals (thus, the typical cross-shaped **V+D** abbreviation is not used), and the initial **T** of *Te igitur* beginning the canon proper (fol. 32v) has been decorated with the same simple knot- and leaf-patterns in black ink, brown washings of diluted ink and the red pigment of the rubrics and initials.[101]

The Hamburg provenance is clear, but unfortunately only attested in a thirteenth-century note, with the description *Iste liber est ecclesiae Hamburgensis*, now on the inside cover of the (modern) binding. The book's origin is difficult to determine: the only hand of the main text is decidedly uncalligraphic, which always makes localisation on palaeographical grounds problematic. It seems, to my mind, to have few self-evidently German features, but since German script in this period was distinctive mostly at the grander end of the scribal spectrum, I am reluctant to pass a palaeographical judgment at this stage.[102] The general aspect of the hand seems to point towards the second half, or final third, of the eleventh century – although some of the aspects in which the hand departs from the pure Caroline script which had been dominant in Germany until this point could simply be unprofessional scribal

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Hamburg Cathedral library in 1784, and donated it to the Bibliotheca Vallicelliana upon his entry to the Roman Oratory of St Philip Neri, then based around the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella (generally known as the Chiesa Nuova): Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen*, p. 200. He dated it to the ninth century, and associated it with St Ansgar, 'monachus O.S.B. et Apostolus Sueciae'. There are two, apparently small, lacunae: at the very beginning of the manuscript (the first part of the *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum*), and between fols 11v–12r, where part of the office of the dead is missing.

[100] Kartsovnik, '"Liber ecclesiae Hamburgensis"', pp. 20–4, edited with modern notation.

[101] The illuminations are reproduced in Schöffel, *Kirchengeschichte Hamburgs*, pl. 3; on the decoration of the canon of the mass in sacramentaries and missals, see Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen*, pp. 429–54.

[102] See, on similar palaeographical problems, below, pp. 250–1, with references.

features – for example the broken backs of **e** and **c**.[103] The liturgists who have concerned themselves with Vallicelliana B 141 have been quite incapable of placing the book, on textual grounds, in any particular liturgical tradition: Niels Krogh Rasmussen pointed to remains of Irish influence on the highly strange litany, but overall characterised the *ordo missae* as belonging to a so-called Rhenish type; Hieronymus Frank demonstrated close links with a ninth-century West-Frankish sacramentary in the funeral rite; Kenneth Stevenson saw the marriage rite as 'a quite deliberate introduction of the Anglo-Norman type of marriage-liturgy into Germany'; Viacheslav Kartsovnik, in a detailed analysis of the musical items included, has concluded that the manuscript came to Hamburg from the south, or indeed the south-west: both the repertoire of chants and the musical notation point towards central-French or Lotharingian models.[104] The only significant marginalia – a note recording the names of twenty-nine women and men for commemoration (fol. 27v–28r, upper margin) – are of little help, although it should be noted that none of the names is Slavic or Scandinavian.[105] In a sense, this lack of a clear sense of liturgical identity or tradition is unsurprising, particularly if the manuscript was intended for Hamburg or arrived there soon after its production (and, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence that it did – the discussion below therefore remains, to an extent, hypothetical). By the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries – particularly after the Slavic uprising of 1066 – conditions in Hamburg were hardly favourable to developing a distinctive diocesan liturgical tradition; in general,

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[103] For reproductions of the main hand, see ibid., pl. 2 and Kartsovnik, '"Liber ecclesiae Hamburgensis"', pl. 1–2. Please note that, in both cases, the low quality of the images exaggerates some of the angular aspects of the script, particularly in Kartsovnik's plates.

[104] Rasmussen, 'An Early «Ordo Missae»', p. 211; Frank, 'Der älteste erhaltene Ordo defunctorum', pp. 387–402; Stevenson, 'The Marriage-Rite', p. 193; Kartsovnik, '"Liber ecclesiae Hamburgensis"', p. 23. The list of saints invoked at the end of the Communicantes section of the canon missa, which can be useful for localising a manuscript (Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen*, pp. 405–8) contains only universal saints: as usual, the Virgin and the twelve apostles, followed by a number of early popes and martyrs: SS Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, and Cosmas and Damian (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B 141, fols 33r–33v).

[105] Edited in Kartsovnik, '"Liber ecclesiae Hamburgensis"', p. 25.

neither Hamburg nor Bremen seem to have had the capacity to produce books on a large scale in this period, and books were acquired from a number of sources.[106] Hamburg, by this time, was still a distinctly missionary church, even if the focus was turning more towards its Slavic-speaking neighbours in the east than the Scandinavian north.

Vallicelliana B 141 is interesting for three principal reasons: first, because it is a rare witness to the liturgy of Hamburg-Bremen in the central middle ages; second, for a number of unusual, sometimes downright peculiar texts it contains. Several of these have been edited.[107] The strangest is the litany prescribed for the priest preparing for the mass in the *ordo missae*: it invokes, by name, only biblical saints – martyrs, virgins, and confessor saints are mentioned generically, but with no specific examples – including eleven Old-Testament saints.[108] Even more remarkable is the first section of the litany: a series of twenty-six invocations, addressed to Christ by metaphor, and arranged by an alphabetical acrostic (*Archangelorum eternitas miserere nobis / Bonitas patriarcharum miserere nobis / Karitas sacerdotum miserere nobis / Divicia prophetarum miserere nobis*, and so on).[109] The litany seems to be unique.[110] Third, the manuscript is interesting as a rare eleventh-century (or possibly early twelfth-century) example of a strictly presbyteral pastoral book, containing what appear to be reductions of solemn, pontifical liturgical texts for rudimentary circumstances. Sometimes the process of reduction has resulted in a

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[106] See below, pp. 180–6.

[107] In the following articles (the *ordo missae* (except the canon), the funeral rite, and the marriage rite respectively): Rasmussen, 'An Early «Ordo Missae»'; Frank, 'Der älteste erhaltene Ordo defunctorum'; Stevenson, 'The Marriage-Rite'. Overviews of the contents of the whole manuscript can be found in Kartsovnik, '"Liber ecclesiae Hamburgensis"', pp. 25–7 and (very brief) Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen*, pp. 200–1.

[108] Rasmussen, 'An Early «Ordo Missae»', p. 209.

[109] Edited in ibid., p. 200.

[110] Alphabetical acrostics were, of course, not unknown to Christian Latin literature in this period (ibid., p. 210), but liturgically they are rare. For the most prominent rite involving the alphabet, the consecration of churches, see Schreiner, 'Abecedarium'.

certain confusion, and scribal errors abound; at other times the spare text seems to preserve archaic rites which had grown outdated in episcopal books.[111] If Vallicelliana B 141 came to Hamburg before the expansion of the city in the second half of the twelfth century, when the cathedral was still a missionary centre, it shows how the working tools of the low-ranking missionary could be both simple in appearance, and highly idiosyncratic and original. It is a useful reminder that liturgical innovation did by no means only occur in rarefied circumstances at the higher levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

2:1:2. Literary Evidence for the Earliest Importation and Production of Liturgical Books in Scandinavia

Few narrative sources make any mention of how the book collections of the earliest Scandinavian churches came into being. Centuries prior to the time-period considered in this thesis, Rimbert described how Ansgar and his helpers, travelling with tradesmen on their first expedition to Sweden in 830, lost some forty books, 'which they had accumulated for the service of God', to pirates in the Baltic.[112] This is a substantial number, but it is difficult to tell exactly which types of books Ansgar would have brought with him – perhaps the selection was comparable to the books similarly amassed (rather than produced in a concerted scribal effort) by Boniface for his missionary work a century earlier.[113] Liturgical books from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, were considerably different from those of the ninth century – that is, even if the texts and chants were mostly the same as in the Carolingian period, they had been rearranged into new formats. A twelfth-century expedition could have brought with it the necessary textual basis for the same rites as Ansgar had planned in considerably fewer volumes. This new state of affairs will

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[111] Rasmussen, 'An Early «Ordo Missae»', pp. 205–7.

[112] Rimbert, *Vita Ansgarii* X (ed. and transl. Buchner and Trillmich, *Quellen*, pp. 40–1; transl. Robinson, pp. 47–8): 'quos ad servitium Dei sibi aggraverant'.

[113] For Boniface's reconstructed library, see von Padberg, *Die Inszenierung*, pp. 92–4.

be discussed below, in particular detail in chapter five, with respect to books for the liturgical hours.

Only by the end of my time frame, however, is there some narrative evidence for how liturgical books were supplied in areas which, if no longer a missionary target, had at least, until this time, lacked the kind of institutions normally associated with the production of books before the advent of the lay professional scribe: twelfth-century southern Sweden. As far as it is possible to tell – scholars have seen traces of short-lived Benedictine communities, but they are extremely elusive – communal religious life in twelfth-century Sweden was almost entirely dominated by Cistercianism, and Cistercian sources provide some interesting evidence of how sophisticated Christian culture fared in the newly converted environment.[114] The official historiography of the order – Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium magnum Cisterciense* – reported that, although the isolation in Sweden may have suited the order's eremitic ideals, many monks were very hesitant indeed to venture the journey into barbarian country *in extremis finibus mundi*, where the locals had maybe heard of monks, but had certainly never seen one.[115] The two earliest foundations date from 1143: the abbeys of Alvastra and Nydala, traditionally said to have been founded on the same day, in the morning and afternoon respectively.[116] The monks found great success with the local elite, but there were few suitable candidates for monastic life among the locals, 'due to a paucity of clergy', Conrad

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[114] For the early Cistercian foundations in Sweden, see France *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*, pp. 27–42. On the possibility of an earlier Benedictine community at Vreta in Östergötland, see Nilsson, 'Det tidigaste klostret i Vreta' with bibliography; see also, importantly, Ahnlund, 'Vreta klosters äldsta donatorer'. According to a widespread theory (although it does require some considerable leaps of imagination), the cathedral of Uppsala was first served by English (what else?) black monks: Gallén, 'De engelska munkarna i Uppsala'; cf. the more cautious discussion in Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, pp. 62–9.

[115] Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium magnum Cisterciense* IV:28 (ed. Giesser, pp. 259–60): 'monachi quidem nomen audierant, sed monachum antea non viderant'.

[116] France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*, pp. 29–31; Ortved *Cistercieordenen og dens klostre i Norden* II, 141–3. On Nydala, see below, pp. 224–5.

explained; instead, they managed to recruit 'literate and distinguished persons from Germany and England'.[117]

A group of monks who left Alvastra soon after its foundation, and after some time of peripatetic existence settled in Varnhem in Västergötland in south-western Sweden, possibly in 1150, began to suffer after the death of their founder, a local noblewoman, harassed by none other than the queen, one of her political rivals. The source to these events is problematic in terms of its survival, but makes up in colour for what it may lack in reliability.[118] The disgruntled queen reportedly employed local women that she sent in to defecate on monastery grounds. Another of the monks' opponents, a priest who was active nearby, also used local women. He made them rush into the abbey during the Palm Sunday procession, indecently dressed.[119] For all that this was disturbing, it was, however, another incident which finally forced the monks to give up and leave Varnhem. Apparently, the queen eventually informed Abbot Henry, that 'a big house, in which the abbot used to write mass books' – *domus magna, in qua abbas libros missales scribere solebat* – was to be torn down, and moved to another place, that she should point out herself.[120] The passage shows both how quick the Cistercians were to organise extensive facilities for handwriting, even in a difficult environment, and the importance placed on the scriptorium. It was a large building, and one important enough that a command to relocate it was enough to drive the monks into exile.

The second text which I will consider here is also of relevance to twelfth-century Sweden, but is of a rather different nature: it is a list of liturgical object, vestments,

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[117] Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium magnum Cisterciense* IV:28 (ed. Giesser, p. 260): 'propter paucitatem clericorum ... de partibus Germaniae et Angliae [litteratae] et [discretae personae]'.

[118] The so-called *Narratiuncula de fundatione monasterij Vitæscholæ in Cimbria*, (ed. Gertz, *Scriptores minores* II, 134–42).

[119] Ibid., p. 139; this part of the account may be based on a passage in Gregory the Great's Life of St Benedict: Ortved *Cistercieordenen og dens klostre i Norden* II, 225–9.

[120] *Narratiuncula de fundatione monasterij Vitæscholæ in Cimbria*, (ed. Gertz, *Scriptores minores* II, 139).

and some twenty-six liturgical and non-liturgical books, entered into an early fourteenth-century chronicle of the Benedictine abbey of Rastede near Oldenburg, and donated to the abbey by an itinerant twelfth-century bishop named Siward, who entered Rastede after having been expulsed from the see of Uppsala, reportedly *per insolentiam paganorum*.[121] Notwithstanding the late date of the chronicle, it seems likely that the list of donations has been transferred from an earlier manuscript, and is a reasonably accurate reflection of Siward's possessions at the time of his arrival at Rastede (probably in the early 1130s). The glimpses that can be had of Siward's remarkable career are discussed and contextualised in chapter three.[122] He eventually became abbot of Rastede. Earlier scholarship on Siward has tended to concentrate either on his role in the church-political controversies of the 1130s, also discussed below, or on the non-liturgical books of his library.[123] Here, however, the list will be taken as an intriguing example of the working tools of an itinerant (if not missionary) bishop.

The list contains, first, the following liturgical objects and vestments:

> To wit, four chasubles; six stoles with maniples – of these, two stoles were decorated with silver – with a girdle. Two maniples for subdeacons, one large and the other small. Six albs with girdles. A silver chalice with a silver fistula. Two mitres and four gloves. Three dalmatics and two *subtilia* [subdiaconal tunics]. Four copes. Two *pallia* and a silken liturgical cloth. Five crosses; two of these in ivory, and two in silver and one in copper. Two portable altars ['altar stones'] in marble and one in silver. Two copper candlesticks, and two

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[121] *Historia monasterii Rastedensis*: ed. Waitz, p. 502.

[122] See below, pp. 160–4.

[123] See Johnsen, '"Siwardus episcopus ubsallensis"' and, most importantly, Kleberg, *Medeltida Uppsalabibliotek I*. Cf., however, the remarks by Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, pp. 56–7.

made of crystal and copper. Three altar-cloths; and eight corporals with their burses.[124]

The meaning of *pallium* is somewhat ambiguous: it could refer to an archiepiscopal insigne (which would make little sense in this context); to a liturgical garment – a cope or *pluviale*; or (what is most probably intended here) to some sort of liturgical cloth, an altar-cloth or a corporal. What is clear, however, is that Siward must have travelled with a substantial entourage: even if the list is dominated by textiles, it contains some heavy objects. It also makes full provisions for solemn and processional liturgy, with two subdeacons assisting the bishop. That there should be three portable altars is particularly noteworthy: in effect, Siward and (mostly, one suspects) his assistants carried with them an 'itinerant cathedral'. The list continues with the books. As medieval Latin book titles are often ambiguous, or have no immediate modern equivalent, I have left the passage untranslated. The non-liturgical sections of the collection are certainly interesting, but will be left mostly uncommented here – they have been analysed in some detail before, notably by Tönnes Kleberg.[125]

Duos ordines episcopales. Missalem et matutinalem in uno volumine, et 1 graduale. Collectarium unum. Excerpta canonum. Quatuor evangelistas per se. Herbarium, lapidarium in uno volumine. Gemmam anime. Elucidarium. Penitentialem. Baptisterium. Chronica. Ysydorum de summo bono. Regulam sancti Benedicti et martirologium in uno volumine. Item ordinem de divinis officiis et penitentialem et visiologium in uno volumine. Vitam sancte Marie

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[124] *Historia monasterii Rastedensis* (ed. Waitz, p. 503): 'Casulas videlicet quatuor; sex stolas cum fanonibus – ex his due stole erant deargentate – cum subcingulo. Mapulas duas ad subdyaconos, unam magnam et aliam parvam. Sex albas cum cingulis. Argenteum calicem dum fistola argentea. Mitras duas et cyrotecas quatuor. Tres dalmaticas et duo subtilia. Cappas 4. Pallia duo et manuterium de serico. Quinque cruces; ex hiis due eburnee et due argentee et una de cupro. Marmoreos lapides duos et unum de argento. Candelabra duo cuprea et duo de cristallo et cupra. Tria manuteria ad altaria; et octo corporalia cum fotris'.

[125] Kleberg, *Medeltida Uppsalabibliotek I*, pp. 24–42.

Egiptiace. Aratorem. Iuvencum, Sedulium et Prosperum in uno volumine. Medicinales sex. Librum de conflictu vitiorum atque virtutum. Platonem. Item Prosperum et regulas de versibus et Theodolum. Cathonem et ymnarium Prudencii in uno volumine. Prudentium, Oratium et Boetium. Item librum de significatione vestimentorum ecclesiasticorum.[126]

In terms of books intended specifically for the priestly and episcopal office, then, Siward travelled with two episcopal *ordines* – presumably collections of episcopal rites that in modern terminology would be called pontificals; with a gradual – the book containing the chants for the mass – and with a mixed service book for both the mass and the liturgical hours, in one volume. Such books were relatively unusual, and tended to be more or less abbreviated.[127] Furthermore, he had a collectary, the book collecting the prayers for the liturgical hours; a gospel book with the four gospels arranged discretely (as opposed to the more strictly liturgical, and less prestigious, evangeliary or gospel lectionary, where the gospels are broken up into pericopes arranged by the liturgical year); two separate books of pastoral rites: a penitential and a *baptisterium* (perhaps a *libellus* of baptismal rites?); a martyrology attached to the Rule of St Benedict; and an interesting compendium which included another penitential, the *Physiologus* (its title slightly mangled in the chronicle), and an *ordo de divinis officiis*. The last item is difficult to identify more precisely: it could be set of liturgical instructions, but it could also be a liturgical commentary or exposition; in line, perhaps, with the last item on the list, the book on the significance of ecclesiastical vestments. In terms of the non-liturgical books, Siward's library is both 'impressive in scope' and comparatively conventional.[128] Taken as a whole, and in conjunction with the liturgical objects and vestments, the book collection gives evidence both of classical, patristic and contemporary twelfth-century learning, of a strong concern for pastoral care, and last but not least of an ability and willingness to impress. It was an array of objects which helped to mark

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[126] *Historia monasterii Rastedensis*: ed. Waitz, p. 503.

[127] On pre-1200 mixed 'breviary-missals', see Salmon, *L'office divin*, pp. 64–7.

[128] Kleberg, *Medeltida Uppsalabibliotek I*, p. 37: 'imponerande omfång'.

Siward and his followers out as possessors of both ancient and modern wisdom, rarefied as well as practical (six medical books!); it was also, in all likelihood, intended for the performance of a rite, which by its visual appearance and sensory effect, could 'please rather well' the older sceptics of an area where organised, public paganism had apparently been practised no longer than a generation earlier.

2:2. Fragments of Liturgical Books in Scandinavian Archives

2:2:1. Introduction to the Material

For the historian, the fragment often highlights the arbitrariness of material survival, the imperfect entropy of the passage of time. A manuscript fragment retrieved from underneath the pastedowns of a book binding seems suspended in time and place, without anchorage to the context in which the book it was once part of was read or written. Most fragments of liturgical books which can be found in Scandinavian libraries and archives are, however, the result of something other than mere neglect or obscure dispersal: they are the result of a deliberate and systematic institutional effort to mutilate and recycle medieval books. In the sixteenth century, as the political institutions of the kingdoms of Sweden (under the kings of the Vasa dynasty, beginning with Gustav I (1523–60)) and Denmark-Norway grew more sophisticated, royal administration expanded and imposed itself on earlier local power structures. It also made use of considerably more paper: for taxation purposes, the stronger state needed a better idea of the possessions of its citizens, and royal bailiffs, stationed at regular intervals across the kingdoms, made inventories and compiled tax accounts for farms, villages, and manors across Scandinavia.[129] The accounts, large volumes on brittle paper, needed to be bound in sturdier material for transport and for preservation. In the wake of the Reformation, what material was more suitable than parchment from Latin liturgical books? Royal bailiffs were

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[129] On political change and the bailiffs of Vasa-period Sweden, see Hallenberg, *Kungen, fogdarna och riket* (in particular pp. 175-83) see also the earlier extensive survey of the bailiffs and their archives by Almquist: *Den civila lokalförvaltningen i Sverige 1523–1630.*

ordered to confiscate codices from religious institutions, and tens of thousands of books were chopped up and reused by the new generation of bureaucrats. This practice continued into the second half of the seventeenth century, in Denmark-Norway as in Sweden (including Finland and Swedish Estonia, Livonia, and Ingria).

An act of state-sponsored vandalism, one might think, but it was also a policy that ensured that at least samples of a large number of books were preserved in archival conditions. Liturgical books, particularly those of the local, rural church, generally had slim chances in the post-medieval survival game. As printed books, which admitted a completely different level of customary uniformity within dioceses and ecclesiastical provinces, were diffused, they quickly became outdated, and they usually had little to commend them to posterity in terms of decoration or prestige. They were the priest's everyday tools, and replaced when they had been superseded or worn out. The corpus of surviving medieval liturgical manuscripts is otherwise biased towards the grand, magniloquent end of the liturgical spectrum, or the luxurious private worship of the contemplative elite. In a sense, the picture of a medieval book culture given by the Scandinavian fragments is therefore more 'democratic': it is dominated by the kind of books which might raise few eyebrows among art-historians or collectors, but should be of interest to the cultural historian interested in the common, and not just the outstanding. This is not to say that the fragments are a perfect cross-section of Scandinavian book collections at the end of the middle ages, however: certain types of books were accessible and useful to the bailiffs, and others were not. To what extent the collection can be taken to be representative of eleventh- and twelfth-century Christian culture will be discussed below.[130]

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[130] Latin liturgical books from medieval Iceland have also mostly survived in fragmentary form, although in different circumstances: it was common practice for early modern manuscript collectors interested in the sagas to bind their Icelandic 'finds' using leaves from Catholic liturgical books before taking them back to Sweden or Denmark. See Andersen, 'Colligere fragmenta, ne pereant' and Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, pp. 1–9.

The exact number of manuscript fragments which have survived in this manner is impossible to calculate. The approximate numbers of the most important collections are, however, as follows: some 22,500 fragments in Stockholm, in the Swedish National Archives (*Riksarkivet*, henceforth SRA); some 5500 fragments in the Norwegian National Archives in Oslo (*Rigsarkivet*, henceforth NRA); some 10,000 fragments in the Finnish National Library in Helsinki (formerly in the University Library); and around 11,500 fragments divided between the Royal Library (*Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, henceforth DKB) and the Danish National Archives (*Rigsarkivet*, henceforth DRA).[131] It is worth noting that the fragments, and the volumes they have helped to preserve, have not been lying comfortably in these archives since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: also fragments have their fates. The Finnish and Norwegian collections were kept in Stockholm and Copenhagen respectively until the Russian conquest of Finland in 1809 and the dissolution of the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway in 1814. Parts of Swedish collection were by destroyed by fire in 1697, 1802, and 1807.[132] Most frustratingly, most of the Danish and Norwegian account volumes from before 1610, along with the associated bits of medieval parchment, were discarded and destroyed in the eighteenth century.[133]

In the last century, however, the fragments have attracted scholarly attention. In Sweden and (even more so) in Finland, where comparatively few medieval manuscripts have survived complete, especially from before 1300, scholars have been particularly interested.[134] A number of efforts began in the first half of the twentieth century to catalogue the fragments, and they were, as a matter of course, removed from the early modern accounts in the process. From the point of view of contemporary archival ethics, this is bad practice indeed, and now carefully avoided,

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[131] Karlsen, 'Liturgiske bøker i Norge', p. 149.

[132] Brunius, 'Medieval Manuscript Fragments', p. 12.

[133] Karlsen and Pettersen, 'Katalogisering', p. 50.

[134] See, for example, the early studies by Collijn (*Handlingar*) and Haapanen (*Die Neumenfragmente*).

but as it stands the entire Finnish collection, the majority of the Norwegian material, and those Danish fragments now in the DKB, are preserved separately from the account volumes (in general, these were the fragments considered to be 'more interesting'). In Stockholm, the proportion of separated fragments is relatively low. None of the earlier cataloguing projects was completed, at it was only in the last years of the twentieth century that a new effort was begun to get a fuller picture of the fragments.[135] First was the Swedish database MPO (for *medeltida pergamentsomslag*, 'medieval parchment covers'), a project completed in 2004 by Gunilla Björkvall, Jan Brunius, and Anna Wolodarski, building on the incomplete card catalogue by Toni Schmid and Oloph Odenius, known as *CCM* (*Corpus codicum mutilorum*).[136] Similar cataloguing projects have since begun, and are currently underway, in Oslo and in Helsinki.[137] A number of publications have followed in their wake, and the Norwegian fragments formed the basis for a recent doctoral thesis by Åslaug Ommundsen.[138] They were also explored by the most reputable of Scandinavian liturgists, Lilli Gjerløw, in a number of publications.[139] The Danish material, it must be said, remains comparatively neglected, although more-or-less complete inventories were made of both collections in 1976 and

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[135] For the earlier catalogue of the Helsinki fragments, see Haapanen, ed., *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente ... I–III.*

[136] Schmid used the fragments as the basis for a highly interesting series of articles in the *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*: see the complete bibliography in Brunius, 'Schmid, Antonie (Toni)'.

[137] Karlsen and Pettersen, 'Katalogisering' (on Oslo); for Helsinki, see the National Library's website http://www.nationallibrary.fi/services/kokoelmat/manuscriptfragments.html.

[138] Ommundsen, *Books, Scribes and Sequences*.

[139] See notably Gjerløw, *Adoratio crucis*; ead., 'Missaler brukt i Bjørgvin bispedømme'; and ead. 'Missaler brukt i Oslo bispedømme'. There exists, in addition to the unfinished database, an incomplete list (in typescript) of liturgical fragments by Gjerløw in the NRA, which has recently been reworked and expanded by Michael Gullick: I am very grateful to Michael Gullick for making a version of this list available to me.

1983.[140] Most of the discussion in this subchapter is based on the Stockholm material: this is, mainly, because the very useful MPO database is now complete, and because it is the collection I know best, and that has been the most easily accessible to me. It also has the advantage that most of the fragments are preserved in the shape of whole bifolia or single leaves, used as covers for the Vasa-period account books. In Norway and Denmark, on the other hand, it was common practice to shred the medieval books into narrow strips, then used to strengthen the spine of the early modern accounts (wrapped in paper rather than parchment) at sewing stations. Piecing whole pages together is often difficult, and when the fragments are still attached to the account volumes, they are practically impossible to analyse.

It is necessary to mention one more methodological problem: that of the fragments' medieval provenance. The accounts they bind are usually carefully labelled, with the date, the name of the bailiff, and the area covered.[141] However, this does by no means automatically mean that the book which yielded the fragment was preserved – until confiscated by the state – in the same area. In fact, there is literary evidence to show that a number of account volumes were only bound upon arrival in the state archives in Stockholm and Copenhagen, or in a provincial centre. Only in a handful of cases is the medieval provenance of a particular fragment known with certainty, and can be connected with the area where the bailiff who used it was active. Otherwise, when there are several fragments from a particular book surviving, and the distribution of the places covered by the accounts it was used to bind is geographically relatively limited, this can be a fairly strong indication of the original manuscript's medieval provenance. Groups of fragments of a particular type which have all been used to bind accounts from a particular region, can also be, at least, indicative of general trends. Absolute exactitude is nonetheless usually impossible. This said, Jan Brunius, who has explored the relationship between archival signature

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[140] Albrectsen, *Middelalderlige håndskriftfragmenter* (DRA); Andersen and Raasted, *Inventar over Det Kongelige Biblioteks Fragmentsamling* (DKB). Cf. also the ambitious editorial project by Knud Ottosen, at http://www.liturgy.dk/.

[141] See, for, example, Fig. 4.

and medieval provenance with respect to the fragments in the Stockholm collection in some detail, has come to the conclusion that, overall, most fragments are likely from books procured by the bailiff or his assistants from local parish churches.[142]

2:2:2. Eleventh-Century Books: An Overview of the Stockholm Fragments

Not all fragments in the Scandinavian archival collections are from liturgical manuscripts. Service books, however, clearly dominate: in the MPO, around seventy-six percent of the collection comes from strictly liturgical books. Of the remaining percentage, a fairly large proportion of the fragments are still from distinctly Catholic books – canon law collections, non-liturgical Latin bible manuscripts, and so on.[143] Fragments from non-liturgical books have mostly been used to bind Stockholm accounts, which indicates that the Stockholm bailiffs had access to other types of sources for second-hand parchment than their colleagues in the countryside – the libraries of the city's mendicant convents have been suggested as a likely alternative.[144] Among the liturgical fragments, two genres dominate in turn: the missal and the breviary, the two books collecting the chants, readings, and prayers for mass and the liturgical hours respectively. In the MPO, missal fragments and breviary fragments make up around thirty-five percent of the liturgical fragments each. Most important of the remaining thirty percent of the liturgical fragments are chant collections to be used by a choir – antiphonaries (for the hours) and graduals (for the mass), making up thirteen and eight percent of the liturgical fragments respectively. Fragments from lectionaries, psalters, and hymnals are, by comparison, rare, and rituals, manuals, and ordinals even rarer. As noted by Brunius, the distribution of genres seems to correspond relatively well to what one would

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[142] Brunius, 'Kammaren, fogdarna och de medeltida böckerna' and id., 'De medeltida bokfragmenten och deras proveniens'; for an English summary, see id., 'Medieval Manuscript Fragments', pp. 13–14. On the medieval provenance of the fragments in the Oslo collection, see Karlsen and Pettersen, 'Katalogisering', pp. 55–8.

[143] These and the following statistics are all from Brunius, 'Medieval Manuscript Fragments', pp. 11–12, where they are conveniently represented in diagrammatical form.

[144] Ibid., p. 14.

expect of the book collection of a parish church in late-medieval Sweden, and to the glimpses that can be had of such collections in sixteenth-century church inventories.[145] Roughly the same proportions seem to apply to the Norwegian and Danish collections.[146]

The observations summarised above apply to the whole medieval period – but what can be said about the earliest generation of fragments, and those that fall within the chronological limits of this thesis? First, it is worth noting that the Norwegian collection is, compared to the other collections, significantly weighted towards fragments from the central, rather than later, middle ages; there is a clear and considerably slump in material after around 1300.[147] Conversely, in the SRA the number of fragments from the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth century is as high – in fact slightly higher – than the number of thirteenth-century fragments.[148] The oldest fragments in the NRA are also earlier than in Stockholm, Helsinki, or Copenhagen: they date to the early tenth, or possibly the late ninth century.[149] The earliest fragment in the SRA has generally been taken to be from an Anglo-Saxon missal from the middle decades of the eleventh century, from which a comparatively

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[145] Ibid., pp. 11–13.

[146] See the Danish inventories mentioned above (Albrectsen, *Middelalderlige håndskriftfragmenter* and Andersen and Raasted, *Inventar over Det Kongelige Biblioteks Fragmentsamling*) and the observations in Karlsen and Pettersen, 'Katalogisering', pp. 58–62 – the statistics used here by Espen Karlsen, it should be noted, are based on the old Gjerløw typescript catalogue, which is incomplete and biased towards missals and chant books (hence the relatively low proportion of breviaries).

[147] Out of 155 missal fragments studied by Espen Karlsen in 'Liturgiske bøker i Norge' (pp. 150–1), 133 date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[148] Brunius, 'Medieval Manuscript Fragments', p. 13.

[149] Karlsen and Pettersen, 'Katologisering', p. 58. There are, it should be noted, even earlier fragments listed in the inventory of the DKB (Andersen and Raasted, *Inventar over Det Kongelige Biblioteks Fragmentsamling*; for example Fr. 2093, from an eight-century liturgical manuscript), but they are from book-bindings, not archival records, and it is often likely that they were never in Scandinavia in the middle ages.

high number of leaves have survived.[150] As will be argued below, however, there are earlier fragments of German origin in the collection. Before that, however, it is necessary to introduce in broader terms the eleventh-century fragments in the Stockholm collection. It would, of course, have been desirable to include here also the twelfth-century fragments, but since they are so many – around 3600 – it would be a practical impossibility. However, the MPO makes it possible to isolate groups of twelfth-century fragments, and I have analysed one such group in chapter five. Below is a list of the manuscript fragments in the MPO database with attributions to the eleventh century.[151] Please note that the proposed dates and origins are not mine (indeed, they disagree with my opinion in several cases), but those in the catalogue. Some additions have been supplied in square brackets. Please note also the following abbreviations for types of books: Ant: antiphonary; Bib: bible; Br: breviary; Evan: gospel book; Grad: gradual; Le mi: *lectionarium missae*; Mi: missal; Rit: ritual/manual; Theol: theological or patristic works.

MPO signature (Fr.)	*Date (s.)*	*Origin*	*Type of book*	CCM *signature*
194–195	xi ex.	France (N)	Theol	
1620	xi^2	England	Mi	
2070–2071	xi	England/Scandinavia	Mi	

[150] SRA Fr. 25905–25922 (CCM Mi 1); this manuscript fragment, unusual both because a high number of leaves survive, and because some leaves apparently from the same book have been preserved in Oslo (NRA, Lat. Frag. 36–39 (Mi 7)) and Lund (Lund, Universitetsbibliotek, Fragm. membr. Lat. 1), has attracted some important scholarly attention: see Collijn, *Handlingar*, p. 33; Schmid, 'Smärre liturgiska bidrag VIII', pp. 28–9 (with plate); Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis*, pp. 36–7; Schmid, 'Problemata', pp. 184–90; Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, p. 88; Abukhanfusa, Benneth and Brunius, *Helgeråne*t, p. 70 (with plate); Brunius, 'Medeltida böcker i fragment', p. 159; Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization', p. 246; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 936; Karlsen and Pettersen, 'Katalogisering', p. 59n; Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 58 and 78–80; Abukhanfusa, *Mutilated Books*, pp. 19–20 (with colour plate); and, for the most recent assessment, Gullick, 'Preliminary Observations', pp. 32 and 69.

[151] Accessed in Jan 2010.

2427	xi	England	Mi	
2497	xi	England	Mi	
3246	xi^{2}		Mi	
3956, 8960 and 21184	[$xi^{1/3}$–xi med.]	Germany [Cologne]	Evan	Bi 67
4030	xi	[England][152]	Grad	
4225	xi^{2} [$xi^{1-1/3}$]	[Germany]	Bib	Bi 2
8960	[$xi^{1/3}$–xi med.]	[Germany]	Evan	Bi 67
10925	xi		Theol	
10926	xi^{2}-xii^{1}	Germany	Mi	
11511	xi^{2}	[England][153]	Mi?	
11531	xi^{2}		Bib	
20051	xi-xii		Ant	Ant 25
20116	xi-xii		Ant	Ant 53
20427	xi-xii		Ant	Ant 180
21008–9	xi [$xi^{1-1/3}$]	[Germany]	Bib	Bi 2
21051	c. 1100		Bib	Bi 10
21055	xi [$xi^{1-1/3}$]	[Germany]	Bib	Bi 12
21058	xi [xii^{1}?]	[Germany]	Bib	Bi 15
21184–7	[$xi^{1/3}$–xi med.]	Germany [Cologne]	Evan	Bi 67
21202	xi-xii		Bib	Bi 71
21754	xi-xii		Br	Br 34
21988–91	xi-xii		Br	Br 146/788
23008	xi-xii		Br	Br 146/788
22031–2	xi-xii	Germany	Br	Br 177
22593	xi-xii		Br	Br 485

[152] Hartzell, 'Some Early English Liturgical Fragments', pp. 90–2.

[153] As identified by Michael Gullick (personal communication).

23613	xi-xii	Germany?	Br	Br 1235
23645	xi^2	Germany?	Br	Br 1261
23657	xi	Germany?	Br	Br 1269
23717	xi-xii		Br	Br 1319
23846	xi-xii		Br	Br 1430
23881	xi-xii		Br	Br 1460
24406	xi-xii		Br	Br 1878
24518	xi-xii		Br	Br 1958
25530	xi-xii		Hy	Hy 5
25611	xi		Kal	Kal 19
25905–25922	xi	England	Mi	Mi 1
26026	xi		Mi	Mi 15
26287	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 84
26335	xi	Germany	Mi	Mi 114
26410	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 131
26449–26451	xi	England	Mi	Mi 134
26457	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 141
26544	xi		Mi	Mi 174
26746	xi	Germany	Mi	Mi 267
26755	xi		Mi	Mi 275
26756	xi		Mi	Mi 276
26777	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 289
27132	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 437
27167	xi-xii	Germany?	Mi	Mi 447
27168	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 448
27174	xi-xii	Germany	Mi	Mi 453
27179	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 456
27180	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 457
27185	xi	Germany?	Mi	Mi 460
27186	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 461

27240	xi-xii		Mi	Mi 504
27485	xi		Mi	Mi 629
27550	xi		Mi/Rit	Mi 663
27648	xi-xii	Sweden	Mi	Mi 739
29681	xi-xii		Ant	Ant 260
30938	xi		Le mi	Le mi 2

Those fragments with an MPO signature higher than 20,000 were also included in the earlier *CCM* catalogue; and, with some exceptions, their catalogue entries have not been reassessed in detail as part of the MPO project. The suggested dates and origins in the *CCM* catalogue were sometimes based on outdated or unreliable palaeographical and musicological methodologies. In general, the tendency was towards the early rather than the late, at least within this group, and there are several fragments in the list above where the script displays so many twelfth-century features as to make an eleventh-century date unlikely. This applies particularly to the breviary fragments, none of which strikes me as being unambiguously of the eleventh century in appearance (including Fr. 23645 and Fr. 23657). The fragments with English characteristics (in script or notation) are notable and important, but by no means dominant: in fact, both among eleventh- and twelfth-century fragments, 'Continental' material – that is, mostly with German features – seems to be in the majority (as indicated, it should stressed, only by preliminary observations with respect to the twelfth-century material).

The breviaries (for the time being) aside, then, one genre clearly dominates the earliest generation of fragments: the missal, proportionally even more important in this group than in the collection as a whole. In second place – and again, taking up a larger proportion here than in the twelfth-century (or later) material – are fragments from bible manuscripts. Non-liturgical manuscripts are represented by no more than two leaves (Fr. 194–5; Normandy (possibly Jumièges), s. xi ex.) from the same book, containing parts of two sermons by St Augustine (and, intriguingly, in one of a few hands in the collection which have been directly identified as that of a named

scribe).[154] Among the chant books – a hymnal, a gradual, a handful of antiphonaries – represented here, the gradual Fr. 4030, probably English in origin, has been the subject of some scholarly analysis, and has tentatively been posited (on the basis of the musical notation) as 'intended to be used by a traveling pedagogue, possibly a missionary, who wanted a book the notation of which was so graphically close to the melodies he knew, so that if need be it could be interpreted by his students at sight'.[155] Can any other of the fragments – and specifically those from books of apparent German origin – be characterised as typical of Christianisation-period book importation?

With respect to the missal fragments (the bible- and gospel-book fragments have been considered separately, below), this is a rather more difficult argument to make. Certainly, the missal – or 'plenary missal', as it is sometimes known (although the designation is tautological) – was eminently useful in a peripheral church. As a genre, the missal was becoming widespread in the eleventh century – its gradual coming into being in the previous centuries, as the book collecting the prayers of the mass, the sacramentary, was complemented with chants and readings with increasing frequency, can be reconstructed in some detail.[156] The missal contained the necessary texts for a full, if basic, performance of the mass in a single volume; its straightforward organisation and textual comprehensiveness allowed for a more strictly textual, rather than oral transmission of liturgical text and ritual, symptomatic of more widespread literacy and the kind of 'practical', not necessarily learned, Latinity necessary for liturgical celebration. This was of special importance in lands that were not only newly converted, but also sparsely settled compared to the rest of Europe, and where priests would seldom have had the opportunity to achieve the kind of familiarity with and immersion in the liturgy which was possible in an environment where priests, monks, nuns, and canons who celebrated regular

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[154] Hugo Pictor, as identified by Michael Gullick: 'Preliminary Observations', pp. 57–8.

[155] Hartzell, 'Some Early English Liturgical Fragments', p. 92.

[156] See notably Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen*, pp. 359–63.

and elaborate rites were plentiful, and where major churches and cathedral chapters offered opportunities for clerical training in the choir.[157]

Overall, the eleventh-century missal fragments in the SRA seem to be from comparatively 'ordinary' books: books containing masses for the whole liturgical year, rather than collections of votive or occasional masses, such as those of Vallicelliana B 141. This is not surprising, bearing in mind that the fragments represent the book collections of the Swedish church such as they were on the eve of the Reformation. That is, for a fragment from an eleventh-century book to be found in the collection, the book would have to have been considered worth keeping until the end of the middle ages. This is not to say that it was in constant use until that time – books could have languished in the sacristy for long periods – only that there was a considerable risk that books which were produced specifically for a missionary/Christianisation context, and for that context only, would have been discarded long before the bailiffs began to confiscate parchment books in the mid-sixteenth century. Overall, fragments from portable manuscripts are also less likely to have found their way into the collection, both because they were often in the personal ownership of clerics, and therefore less immediately available to the bailiffs than books belonging to an institution, and because they were, quite simply, too small to cover the rather large account volumes.[158]

2:2:3. The Earliest Bible Fragments in Sweden

One category of fragments in the SRA deserves special consideration here: the thirteen fragments from six different bible manuscripts dated to the eleventh- or early twelfth century, four of which were written in apparently German hands.[159] They are of interest for several reasons – first, because they are the oldest fragments

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[157] A more extensive parallell argument is made below, with respect to breviaries: pp. 205–20.

[158] See also below, pp. 253–4.

[159] Eleven fragments in total: SRA Fr. 3956, 8960 and 21184–7 (CCM Bi 67); Fr. 4225 and 21008–9 (CCM Bi 2); Fr. 21055 (CCM Bi 12); and Fr. 21058 (CCM Bi 15).

in the collection; second, because the earliest fragments within this group can lay some claim to representing the kind of first- or second-generation missionary manuscript discussed above – of the impressive, rather than practical, variety. Indeed, some of the fragments are from remarkably large books: even if the margins have often been cut off to fit the fragment as a wrapper around the account book, at least the written area can be measured; and in some cases, the parchment has been folded, so it is possible to see also how large the margins would have been in the medieval codex. SRA Fr. 21055, for example, has been mutilated, but the size of the original written area can be reconstructed to around 475×395 mm.[160] The original width of the margins cannot be ascertained. The same holds true for Fr. 21058, where the written space would have measured around 415×275 mm.[161] Fr. 4225 and 21008–9 are severely damaged, in addition to being mutilated, but a tentative assessment of the written area would be a measurement of around 455×265 mm. In this case, it is at least possible to measure the upper, lower, and outer margins: to 45, 70, and 70 mm respectively. Assuming the inner margin was of similar width to the upper margin, the pages would, then, have measured approximately 570×380 mm.[162]

Three of the apparently German bible fragments are from books virtually certain to be older than 1100: the first is a series of fragments from a gospel book: SRA Fr. 3956, 8960 and 21184–7, plus a fragment in Helsinki and two in London, which for the sake of practicality will be designated by their CCM signature, Bi 67, here.[163]

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[160] See fig. 1; note that the height of the written area cannot be directly ascertained, but there appears to be approximately ten lines worth of text missing at the top of the second column (between Lk VI:39 and VI:42).

[161] Fig. 2.

[162] Fig. 3.

[163] Helsinki, University Library, Fr. Bi 21: see Häkli, *Boken i Finland*, pp. 146–7 for a colour reproduction and description (by A. I. Lehtinen) of the fragment. Furthermore, London, BL, Add. 34386, fol. 7–8; this is part a collection of manuscript fragments, accumulated both from Scandinavian archives and elsewhere by George Stephens (1813–95), a linguist and historian who taught English in Stockholm and Copenhagen: Lehtinen, 'From Fragments into Codices', pp. 111–15 and Broomé, *Handskriftssamlarna och de svenska arkiven*, p. 330.

Second is SRA Fr. 4225 and 21008–9 (CCM Bi 2); and third Fr. 21055 (CCM Bi 12). Bi 67 is perhaps the most remarkable: it is apparently from a most impressive, grand codex, with wide margins, high-quality parchment and a calligraphic hand writing in very dark brown, virtually black, ink. The written area measures around 290×155 mm; the whole pages would originally have measured around 405×265 mm. Initials, chapter headings, and all majuscules in the main text are in gold. The hand is typical of handwriting in western Germany in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, upright, with short ascenders and descenders, and letter forms tending towards the square: ascenders and minims are often broadened towards the top, and in many cases given substantial triangular wedges.[164] In fact, the hand has been identified in two other gospel books, Cologne products from the first third or the middle of the eleventh century; the most well-known of these written for the newly-instituted cathedral chapter at Bamberg.[165] The Bamberg gospel book is a luxurious book, lavishly illuminated. No illuminated leaves survive from Bi 67, but in terms of the layout of the page the fragments seem to surpass even the Bamberg manuscript: the lines and margins are more spacious; and the Bamberg manuscript does not have consistently gilded capitals. Can Bi 67 be contextualised historically? The Helsinki fragment slightly complicates establishing its medieval provenance, but it is worth nothing that the Stockholm fragments have all been used to bind accounts from the province of Västmanland north of Lake Mälaren in central Sweden; it seems likely that the gospel book was either in that area or in or near Stockholm by the end of the middle ages. The grandeur of the book suggests that it originally belonged in an episcopal context (there are no known monastic communities from this area and period), and one could well see it accompanying a missionary bishop, keen to impress potential patrons and recent converts. There are a couple of known instances

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[164] See fig. 4.

[165] Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, 1a (fols 207r–217v) and Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 94: Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften*, p. 114; on the Bamberg manuscript, see Bloch and Schnitzler, *Der ottonische Kölner Malerschule* II, 80–6 and plates 307–36; more generally on the Cologne schools and its exports to other centres, see ibid. I, 27–30 and Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination* II, 9–123.

in the eleventh century when Hamburg-Bremen patronised clerics with a Cologne background who were consecrated episcopal office in Scandinavia, but any detailed speculation about who exactly brought the book to Sweden is probably inadvisable.[166]

CCM Bi 2 and Bi 15 belong to a different genre: that of the so-called 'giant bible', usually multi-volume manuscripts of the entire bible, which began to be diffused from Italian and German centres in the eleventh century. Over the course of the century, giant bibles became the luxury book *par excéllence* – indeed, it has been said that the 'shift from gospel books and sacramentaries to Bibles as prime objects of book production in the eleventh century ... marks the end of Ottonian art', and even that the giant bibles were distinctively 'Gregorian books', which were used to propagate papal authority.[167] Are the bible fragments Bi 2 and Bi 15 therefore representative of a new phase of Scandinavian mission, aligned with the Gregorian papacy? It has often been said that, in the second half of the eleventh century, pro-Gregorian churchmen made inroads in the Scandinavian church at the expense of the 'imperial' Hamburg-Bremen mission. Nonetheless, tempting as such an argument might seem, it would be inadvisable: to begin with, as will be argued below, developments in the Scandinavian mission field in the second half of the eleventh century were rather more complex than this argument would allow.[168] Second, it must be stressed that, while a large-scale bible manuscript *could* have been intended as a message of Gregorian propaganda – if it was decorated in particular manner, or exported from a particular centre – there is no reason to believe that giant bibles *per se* were seen as subversive to imperial rule. In short, the idea that the giant bible was 'a weapon against imperial rule, even though nobody had in mind its use for this

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[166] Rudolf of Schleswig and Acilin of Skara (although the latter allegedly never left Cologne): Adam, *Gesta* II:72 and IV:23 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. ; transl. Tschan, pp. 106 and 204–5). On Rudolf's Cologne origin, see *Annales Hildesheimenses* s. a. 1026 (ed. Waitz, p. 34).

[167] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination* II, 175–6.

[168] See below, pp. 104–35.

purpose with aforethought' does not hold up.[169] Nonetheless, what all the eleventh-century bible fragments in Stockholm have in common is that they were originally part of books made to impress by visual appearance, in striking contrast to the distinctly everyday missal- and breviary fragments of the same generation. The origin and date of CCM Bi 2 and Bi 15 is difficult to determine more exactly: both are in the generic script used in eleventh-century (and, in some places, twelfth-century) Germany, what Bernhard Bischoff called the slanting-oval style (*schrägovale Stil*) of Caroline minuscule.[170] The two hands may at first look quite different, but in fact the letter-forms and general aspect are quite similar – rather, it is the size of the script and the layout of the page that differs. Individual letter forms are quite similar, and in both hands the general aspect is rather square. Ascenders and descenders are longer in proportion to the main bodies of the letters in Bi 12, but in all likelihood as a result of the smaller script. Both can be characterised by a certain squareness. Neither fragment seems likely to be much later than the mid-eleventh century.[171]

There are interesting and relevant twelfth-century bible fragments in the collection, although – as already noted – they are proportionally less important than in the eleventh-century material. Among them is a considerable number of fragments from a large (at least 460×330 mm) bible, English in appearance, but, according to Michael Gullick, with certain features which indicate a local origin. It is a centre of a group of fragments, connected by Gullick to the Cisterican abbey at Alvastra (founded in 1143).[172] These and similar bible fragments of the twelfth century represent a new phase in the history of the medieval Swedish church: the arrival of the Cistercians, and a new context for the production and diffusion of prestigious

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[169] Cf. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination* II, 176.

[170] Bischoff, *Paläographie*, pp. 154–5 or id., *Latin Palaeography*, p. 121, and Daniel, *Handschriften*, p. 4.

[171] See fig. 1 and 3.

[172] CCM Bi 81 (SRA Fr. 112, 116 – 21, 124, 130 – 3, 152 – 5, 184, 726, 7762, 9034, 9303, 10113, 10770, 21216; s. xii$^{4/4}$): Gullick, 'Preliminary Observations', pp. 58–64.

books. SRA Fr. 21058 (CCM Bi 15), in a quite different, ostensibly German hand, still belongs to an earlier generation. It is dated to the eleventh century in the catalogue, but the general aspect of the hand, the proportions between the main body of the letters and descenders and ascenders, the noticeable distinction between bold strokes and hairlines, and the extended 'feet' on both minims and descenders indicate a later date, probably the first half of the twelfth century.[173]

2:2:4. Imports or Local Products? A Palaeographical Problem

One of the most important results of recent investigations into the earliest generation of liturgical fragments in Scandinavian archives is the realisation that the importation of books was complemented by local book-production at a quite early stage, also in Sweden.[174] And the more detailed and the investigation into early Scandinavian scribal practice becomes, the stronger the case against the notion that 'we probably have to go rather far into the thirteenth century to be certain to find Swedish hands. … During the first two centuries after the conversion of the Swedes … priests and monks should have had little spare time for copying [manuscripts]' – a case which seems strengthened by the importance placed on writing service books by the Varnhem Cistercians.[175] Determining which of the fragments were produced locally is, however, far from straightforward: when, at best, only a few leaves survive from a book, it is unlikely that they will contain textual evidence that a book

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[173] See fig. 2. For a more extended discussion about such 'pre-Gothic' features, see below pp. 250–1.

[174] A workshop on this subject was held in Bergen in 2005, and I am most grateful to David Ganz for letting me see the material discussed on that occasion. On the general subject of traces of local scribal activity in the earliest fragments, see Karlsen and Pettersen, 'Katalogisering', pp. 65–70 and plates 9, 10 and 12, Karlsen, 'Liturgiske bøker i Norge', Gullick, 'Preliminary Remarks', pp. 58–67, Gjerløw, 'Missaler brukt i Oslo bispedømme' p. 85, and ead., 'Missaler brukt i Bjørgvin bispedømme', p. 76.

[175] Jansson, 'Svensk paleografi', pp. 82–3. 'Troligen får vi gå ganska långt in på 1200-talet för att säkert finna svenska händer … Under de två första århundradena efter svenskarnas omvändelse … torde präster och munkar ha haft föga tid till övers för avskrivning'. For a more recent assessment, cf. Westlund, 'The development of Latin script III'.

was produced in, or for, a Scandinavian context (such as a local saint's feast).[176] In most cases the argument for or against a local origin must therefore be made on stylistic grounds. Since the eleventh- or early twelfth-century fragments reflect the very beginnings of literate culture in Scandinavia, it is impossible to speak of a Scandinavian *Schriftprovinz* at early stage: there seem to have been no book-producing institutions so well-established as to have developed a distinctive local script – this applies also to institutions where there is evidence of comparatively extensive scribal activity, such as St Lawrence's cathedral in Lund.[177]

In general, many hands represented in the various fragment collections are of a kind that most modern commentators would identify as low-quality, and although there are fragments from books that look like products of influential and prestigious scriptoria, these occupy the top of a sliding scale, at whose lower end dwell a large number of hands that look very idiosyncratic indeed. It is inevitable that the palaeographer will, at first glance, identify local handwriting by its awkward or clumsy aspects, but the notion of 'awkwardness' itself is worth taking into some consideration, and to explain it one must go beyond simplistic notions of backwardness or delayed development. It may be obvious, but it is still worth noting, that one cannot tell from the script if the scribe is of Scandinavian origin: in many cases the scribes are likely to have been imported monks, nuns or clerics, perhaps with rudimentary training, but forced in their new environment to extensive scribal activity; in other cases, and increasingly over time, they would have been Scandinavians trained locally. Distinguishing between the two is impossible: a scribe did not write differently because his grandfather happened to have been a viking. Rather, what makes the handwriting look Scandinavian is a question of circumstances. It is a reflection of peripheral conditions: no established schooling

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[176] Although, with so many fragments, there are, of course, exceptions (particularly in calendar fragments). On Scandinavian saints in the MPO, see Brunius, *Atque Olavi*.

[177] In fact the only Scandinavian centre for which such an argument is possible to make: see chapter four below.

system, a lack of adequate exemplars, and an absence of canonical scribal norms – a sense of being outside the mainstream, scribal 'barbarisms'.

I am going to suggest two different directions in which these 'barbarian' circumstances can manifest themselves in the handwriting itself. The first, in a sense, is one of misunderstanding: the scribe has employed letter forms from inappropriate exemplars. Most obviously, this can be studied in how letter forms that in a scribal milieu with a stronger normative tendency would have been used in smaller or rapid handwriting have been elevated to the main text. This can result in broken lines and a certain angularity in letter forms that most modern commentators would think of as 'awkward': see for example SRA Fr. 23599, a breviary fragment containing part of the Offices for the Christmas vigil.[178] The second phenomenon is related, but in a sense stylistic: the 'hesitancy' or 'awkwardness' of a hand is turned into a deliberately employed aesthetic, acceptable because of the lack of a normative scribal framework. This is stylistic experimentation in a context where the stylistic stakes were low. See for example, SRA Fr. 23619, a breviary fragment containing part of the Office of St Paul the Apostle (30 June), and note the curled shape of the majuscules: **U** in col. a, line 5; **E** in col. b, line 1; note the **h**-like **t+i** ligature in col. a, line 20, 'Testimoniu*m*'.[179] In the missal fragment SRA Fr. 27185, possibly from the first half of the twelfth century, both phenomena can be observed.[180] The main bodies of the letters are square and 'awkward', the lower compartment of **a** aggressively angular. Still, there is one unusual feature of the script that can be no other than the result of deliberate stylistic choice: after finishing the main text, the scribe or a collaborator, has added thin horizontal lines to the top of ascenders, in a slightly different shade of ink, not even always connected to the ascenders.

If these traits are typically peripheral, they occupy only one end of a continuum of hands, ranging from prestigious imported books to local products made in modest

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[178] Fig. 15.

[179] Fig. 13.

[180] Fig. 5.

circumstances. There are other ways of detecting a local origin: for example, when a fragment has both 'German' and 'English' stylistic features – notably, there are a number of fragments in the Norwegian collection in apparently English script, notated in distinctly German neumes – or a rare few cases where a hand from a fragment in Latin can be found elsewhere writing in the vernacular.[181] Overall, such instances are rare, and it seems that most fragments in the various collections are from imported manuscripts.

2:2:5. Concluding Remarks

One possible objection to the argument above needs to be addressed before concluding the chapter: is it possible that the fragments from eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts are not, in fact, evidence of Christianisation-period book importation, but rather the remains of later centuries importing, in bulk, discarded and outdated books from churches on the Continent and in the British Isles, still of value in the poor Scandinavian periphery? Overall, this seems unlikely – books were, of course, expensive, but in the context of the enormous resources expended on the church by the Scandinavian laity in this period, the books represent only a portion, and probably a relatively minor one at that. Imported books were comparatively easy to transport, and although local book production required considerable (and quite novel) expertise, it was not as logistically complicated and expensive an undertaking as, say, stonemasonry or bell founding – or, for that matter, the provision for imported clergy. Of course, there will be some cases where a manuscript of imported origin reached Scandinavia only centuries after it was produced, but in general it seems a fair assumption that the imported books now surviving in fragment are roughly contemporaneous with their arrival in Scandinavia.

With this in mind, the fragment collections seem to reflect, in interesting ways, the transition from the mysterious 'runic' Christianity of the immediate post-missionary

[181] Karlsen and Pettersen, 'Katalogisering', pp. 66–8; Karlsen, 'Liturgiske bøker i Norge', pp. 153–5.

period to the fully Europeanised Scandinavian churches of the twelfth century. The earliest phase is admittedly only patchily attested, but the fragments of eleventh- and early twelfth-century German gospel books and bibles in the Swedish National Archives could well be traces of the kind of prestigious, elite-level, 'missionary' book importation which was made possible by figures such as Bishop Siward of Uppsala. The vast majority of the fragments, however, are remnants a rather different kind of book culture: the books for the everyday needs of local priests. As mentioned above, a body of twelfth-century fragments will be discussed in chapter five, and it will be possible to make some more detailed arguments on this subject matter: I do not wish to preempt the conclusions of that chapter here. What can be said, however, is that there must have been routes and means of book importation which left little or no trace in the narrative sources, which occurred outside of the purview of the monastic orders, or well-funded episcopal initiatives. Jan Brunius has suggested three ways by which the book which yielded the German fragments in the SRA could have entered Sweden: by missionary enterprises, by mercantile contacts, or from religious institutions in the previously German-dominated lands east and south of the Baltic occupied by Sweden in the early modern period.[182] The last route is of little relevance within this thesis. Otherwise, it is also important to stress that these routes were not isolated phenomena: already in the ninth century, St Ansgar made use of merchant ships in the Baltic to facilitate his mission. The liturgical fragments hint at a reality largely hidden in the narrative sources, where extensive low-level contact and numerous small-scale initiatives provided the mechanics of Scandinavian Christianisation.

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[182] Brunius, 'Zentrum und Peripherie'.

3. The German Interest in Scandinavia, c. 1050–1150

Introduction

The following chapter is the only part of the thesis to eschew liturgy and manuscripts, and to be based entirely on edited, previously studied – and sometimes well-known – written sources. My intention is partly to provide a chronological framework of a sort for the development of what I have termed the 'German interest' in Scandinavia in the period 1050–1150, and thus to contextualise the ensuing chapters on religious practice. It is also an attempt to survey and redress imbalances in existing scholarship. The chapter begins with an examination of German secular interest in Scandinavia, divided into two sections: on relationship between Germany and the three Scandinavian kingdoms at the regnal level; and on trends in the mercantile history of the period.[183] The subchapter is superficial by necessity: the focus of the chapter will be on matters religious, although, as will be immediately apparent, these cannot, and should not, be separated from the secular. The second subchapter deals, first, with the most important narrative source to the period and area by far, Adam of Bremen's *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, and, second, clergy with German affiliations who held office in Scandinavia in the second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth. I have tried to keep the chapter as pan-Scandinavian as possible, but it is in the nature of the problem and the evidence that the discussion will be heavily weighted towards Denmark.

Two themes will emerge at regular intervals in the following pages: first, the varying fortunes of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen in its efforts to establish, maintain, and renew its metropolitan authority across Scandinavia, from the grand Archbishop Adalbert (1043–72) to the tragic Hartwig (1148–68). This is a tale that has been told before, but often with the Hamburg-Bremen archbishops in the role of the hapless villains, doomed and impotent from the start; or as a story of unrelenting

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[183] 'Regnal' in the sense defined by Susan Reynolds: *Kingdoms and Communities*, p. 254.

decline. I have here, however, deliberately emphasised aspects to contrast with this narrative, hopefully resulting in something more complex, less sweeping; this, naturally, without denying the ultimate failure of Hamburg-Bremen's claims and campaigns. The second theme is a geographical focus: on the southern part of the Jutland peninsula, including Schleswig, on the lands between the Elbe and the Eider – Adam of Bremen's *Nordalbingia* – which became the county of Holstein. The history of this area is a rich source for students of many centuries of European history, and one where the wounds of the past can still be tender. It is also notoriously complicated: Lord Palmerston famously declared that, by the mid-nineteenth century, only three people could understand the Schleswig-Holstein question, one dead, one insane, and one (himself) who had completely forgotten what it was about. I make no such claims, but recognise that the area can be seen both as a nexus point, where questions of German-Scandinavian relations are played out at their most intense, and as somewhere particular and peculiar, hardly representative of either Scandinavia (or Denmark) or Germany in general. Its interest for the purposes of the present thesis should nonetheless be self-evident.

3:1. German Secular Interest in Scandinavia

3:1:1. German Interest in Scandinavia at the Regnal Level

At the royal court in Merseburg at Pentecost 1152, Frederick I, elected king just over two months before, issued a charter to renew and confirm the privileges and liberty of the Saxon monastery of Corvey at the bequest of its abbot Wibald, previously abbot of Stablo, and – very briefly – Monte Cassino, whose activity at the royal chancery under Conrad III was of fundamental importance to the development of imperial titulature and the notion of a 'holy' Roman empire under the Staufer.[184] The charter is grandiose in form and language, emphasising how the abbey had been *semper sub ordinatione et defensione regum vel imperatorum*. Two copies seem to have been made, one – lost in the Thirty Years' War – apparently with a golden bull,

[184] Weinfurter, 'Wie das Reich heilig wurde', pp. 198–200.

probably in golden ink on purple parchment. Twelve bishops witnessed the charter, but the witness list is headed, not by ecclesiastical worthies, but by

> Sveno rex Danorum, qui ibidem regnum suscepit de manu domini regis, Knvt alter Danus, qui ibidem regnum in manu domini regis refutavit.[185]

The passage alludes to an event which supposedly took place the same day: Cnut and Sven were second cousins, and had, since the death of King Erik Lam in 1146, fought a complicated civil war, effectively as co-rulers of Denmark. By the winter of 1152, Cnut was in exile in Saxony, and the court at Merseburg marked their reconciliation. This was not the first time the two had settled their differences, and the agreement was broken soon enough. Nonetheless, Frederick's intervention and the political ceremony which marked it were seen as important enough to merit substantial attention in a number of chronicles from ensuing decades. Closest in time was Otto of Freising in his unfinished biography of his nephew King Frederick, written around 1156. Otto described how, when the foremost among the many princes who had assembled at Merseburg had decided in Sven's favour, Cnut surrendered his sword to Frederick and remained in charge of certain provinces, whereas Sven received his kingdom through Frederick's hand, and swore him *fidelitas et hominium*. It was, Otto claimed, 'the custom of the court, that kingdoms should be handed over or recovered by the ruler by the sword, provinces by the banner'. Later, in the pentecostal procession, King Sven carried the sword of King Frederick, who had also taken the opportunity to bestow a Danish duchy on a third cousin, Valdemar.[186] Doubts have been expressed about to what extent the

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[185] Appelt et al., ed., *Friderici I. diplomata*, no. 11.

[186] Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris* II:5 (ed. Waitz, pp. 105–6): 'Erat illo tempore in regno Danorum inter duos consanguineos, Petrum scilicet, qui et Suevus, et Gnutonem, de regno gravis controversia. Quos rex ad se venire precipiens curiam magnam in civitate Saxoniae Martinopoli, qui et Merseburch, cum multa principum frequentia habuit. Eo prefati iuvenes venientes eius se mandato humiliter supposuerunt; eorumque ad ultimum causa iudicio seu consilio primatum sic decisa fuisse dicitur, [ut] Gnuto, relictis sibi quibusdam provinciis, regium nomen per porrectum

proceedings Otto described really were *consuetudo curiae* – Percy Ernst Schramm's imperial *Staatssymbolik* allowed for the banner as a feudal insigne, so-called *Fahnlehen*, but he did not think it applied specifically to the bestowal of provinces – but the events were not without precedent.[187] In the aftermath of the murder of Cnut Lavard, duke of Schleswig and self-proclaimed 'king of the Abodrites', in 1131, Lothar III intervened first to support the brother of the murdered duke, but after a curious non-battle in southern Jutland, seems to have switched his support to the Danish king, and his son and co-regent, Magnus the Strong. Eventually, after a particularly grievous offence against the Germans – he or his father had killed or mutilated a large number of German merchants dwelling in Denmark – Magnus turned up at the imperial court in 1134. The Erfurt annals reported that Lothar placed a diadem of Magnus's head, and made him his *spatarius*.[188] According to Otto of Freising, Lothar compelled the Danish king to carry his sword *in signum subiectionis ad decorem imperialis reverentiae*.[189]

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gladium abdicaret – est enim consuetudo curiae, ut regna per gladium, provinciae per vexillum a principe tradantur vel recipiantur –, Petrus vero, accepto a manu ipsius regno, fidelitate et hominio ei obligaretur. Ita corona regni sibi per manum principis imposita, in die sancto pentecostes [sic] ipse coronatus gladium regis sub corona incedentis portavit. Gwaldemarius etiam, qui eiusdem sanguinis particeps fuit, ducatum quendam Daniae accepit'.

[187] Schramm et al., *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* II, 651; also II, 505–6, 650–5; and III, 786–7 (all sections by Schramm himself). Schramm's abstractions and terminology must only be used with caution; I have mentioned this primarily as an example, and will not make further use of it in my analysis below. For an appreciative view of Schramm's political symbology, see Bak, 'Medieval Symbology of the State'.

[188] S. a. 1131 and 1134: Holder-Egger, ed., *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia*, pp. 37–41. See also *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo*, s. a. 1134 (ed. Naß, p. 597); this compilation probably dates from relatively soon after 1142.

[189] Otto of Freising, *Chronica* VII:19 (ed. Hofmeister, p. 336); Otto's view of Lothar and his reign was positive overall: Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising*, pp. 268–9. On other instances of diadems and sword-bearing in similar circumstances, see P. E. Schramm in Schramm et al., *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, pp. 785–7. Magnus was killed only weeks later in the battle of Fotevik 4 June 1134; his father died in exile.

One could take the events of 1134 and 1152 as a starting-point for a look forward into Danish history: to the eventual usurpation of the crown by the Valdemar who had been provided with a duchy by Frederick in Merseburg, the son of Cnut Lavard, and the end of the civil wars (which, according to Helmold of Bosau, was the only activity in which the Danes distinguished themselves); to the successful campaigns in the south and east by Valdemar's sons and successors Cnut VI and Valdemar II.[190] This perspective also illuminates the stance of the chroniclers who commented on the events. Otto of Freising (in contrast to his doom-laden *Chronica de duabus civitatibus*) was describing the triumph of Roman imperialism, and Frederick as the creator of a *pax inaudita*, a resolver of conflicts.[191] Helmold of Bosau's *Chronica Slavorum* has for conclusion and climax a peaceful reconciliation between a submissive Valdemar I, the Slavs, and the chronicle's hero, Henry the Lion (in 1171), and Helmold implied that, behind *curia illa celebris* of Pentecost 1152, lay also the uncomfortable relations between the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen and Henry the Lion. The former supported Sven, who, Helmold claimed, ruled *cum maxima tyrannide*; the latter Cnut, who had been favourably received among the Saxons.[192] Saxo Grammaticus, not surprisingly, gave an even more sombre account. In his version, Frederick – *homo fallacissimus* – tricked King Sven, in a polite letter, into appearing at the German court.[193] Similar machinations – *Theutonica perfidia* – underlay the submission of Magnus to Lothar III in the 1130s; and for Valdemar I's reluctant submission to Frederick I at Saint-Jean-de-Losne in 1162, Saxo mustered all the satirical skill and anti-German clichés at his disposal.[194] Viewed in the

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[190] Helmold, *Chronica* LI (ed. and transl. Stoob, pp. 196–7): 'Solis enim civilibus bellis prepollent'.

[191] Goetz, Das *Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising*, pp. 285–92; on the difference in tone between the *Gesta Friderici* and the *Chronica*, see ibid., 275–80; Goetz has argued that the differences, while marked, can still be accommodated within a consistent theology and image of history.

[192] Helmold, *Chronica* LXX and LXXIII (ed. and transl. Stoob, pp. 248–51 and 254–7).

[193] Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XIV:8:2: Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg II, 187; Christiansen, transl., *Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum regum heroumque* II, 378–9.

[194] Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XIII:8:5; XIV:28:3–23: ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg II, 30–3; Christiansen, transl., *Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum regum heroumque* I, 134 and II, 458–66. On Saxo's view of the Germans, cf. Groh, 'Das Deutschenbild', where he attributes to Saxo a nuanced

context of the whole of the *Gesta Danorum*, these were embarrassing setbacks on the way to a revived Danish empire. The turning point came with Cnut VI (1182–1202). Archbishop Absalon gave the king's answer to the imperial emissary who asked Cnut to renew the pledges his father had made to Frederick: 'Do you judge Denmark by your own standards? Do you think it is like Thuringia, which the emperor can conquer as if it were nothing, when he so wishes? No, you go back to your emperor and tell him that the king of the Danes won't show the slightest deference to either him or his office'.[195]

Interesting though the follow-up to Frederick I's first assertion of imperial power is, my task here is different: to look at the century preceding it, and consider the developments behind it.[196] To do this, it seems reasonable to begin with another instance of loaded political ceremony, at the other end of my time-period – in fact,

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and by no means consistently hostile attitude to Germans. There is no doubt that Saxo, as Groh has argued, employed anti-German formulations to support a particular political narrative. To conclude, however, that his language must therefore be something other than the expression of base (if often, to modern readers, entertaining) prejudice seems misguided, particularly the assertion that Saxo was, in fact, no xenophobe (ibid., p. 143). If he wasn't, who was? Cf., for example, Saxo on Norwegians in *Gesta Danorum* X:12:2 (ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg I, 650–1: 'Dolis ac derisione instructi ... ingrates'; transl. Christiansen II, 23: 'schooled in deceit and derision ... ingrates'); or the passages quoted and analysed in Holmqvist-Larsen, 'Saxo: On the Peoples Beyond the Baltic Sea'.

[195] Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XVI:3:1–4 (ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg II, 30–3): 'An tu ... ex temetipso Daniam pensas eamque ut Thuringiam a Cęsare, cum uolet, quam facillime capi posse existimas? Proinde abi imperatorique tuo perfer Danorum regem ne minimam quidem obsequii partem dignitati eius ac nomini delaturum';. Sven Aggesen, writing around 1190, made no mention of Danish royal submission to German rulers; perhaps he thought it unseemly, perhaps he left it – like other matters – to his more wordy *contubernalis* Saxo (as in *Brevis historia regum Dacie* X: Gertz I, 125). A thirteenth-century continuator of the *Chronicon Roskildense* described the agreement between Sven, Cnut, and Valdemar, but made no mention of where and how it took place: ibid., p. 33. See also Leegaard Knudsen, 'Absalon and Danish Policy towards the Holy Roman Empire'.

[196] Scandinavia has generally received little attention from German historians of the royal dynasties of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but notable exceptions include E. Hoffmann, 'Die Salier und Skandinavien' and, for the twelfth century, Beumann, 'Das päpstlische Schisma von 1130' and Engels, 'Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark'.

strictly outside the thesis's chronological limits, but nicely framing it, and essential as background. This is the encounter of another Danish king with another German ruler, but in very different circumstances. When Conrad II was crowned the first Salian emperor in 1027, King Cnut of England and Denmark was in Rome, and assisted at the ceremony. According to Conrad's biographer Wipo, after the coronation mass had been celebrated 'in the presence of two kings, Rudolf king of Burgundy, and Cnut, king of the English … the emperor was ceremonially led to his chamber between the two kings'.[197] The event appears to be without parallels in Ottonian or Salian history, and scholars have interpreted the ideological dimension of Cnut's role in the proceedings differently.[198] To Eduard Eichmann, it was 'a peculiarity, which enhanced the glamorous procession ... The emperor, assisted by kings, could feel like the lord of Christian kings'.[199] Werner Trillmich emphasised the advantages Cnut gained by his assistance in the coronation ceremony: basking in the reflection of imperial splendour, he could show he was no barbarian. 'For that purpose he placed great value, with typical viking self-consciousness, in impressing, through his pompous appearance, his affability and the brilliance of his retinue on

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[197] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi* XVI (ed. Breßlau, p. 36): 'His ita peractis in duorum regum praesentia, Rudolfi Regis Burgundiae et Chnutonis Regis Anglorum, divino officio finito imperator duorum regum medius ad cubiculum suum honorifice conductus est'.

[198] Understanding Cnut's role in the coronation more precisely could be helped by a comparison with a liturgical source for the imperial coronation, a coronation *ordo* which could then be 'married up' with the non-liturgical evidence, so that we could 'begin to appreciate [its] function, context and meaning for contemporaries' (Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', p. 287; more specifically on the problems of relating *ordines* to actual events, see ead., 'Ritual and Reality in Early Medieval *Ordines*'). The problem is that the date of the coronation *ordo* which is the earliest to give detailed instructions for the procession from St Peter's to the Lateran palace after the crowning (the so-called *Ordo Cencius II*, preserved in BAV Vat. Lat. 8486) is disputed. Most scholars would now agree with the *ordo*'s most recent editor, Reinhard Elze, that it is fact a twelfth-century text, and says little about practice in the early Salian era: Elze, ed., *Die ordines*, pp. xii–xiii (with numerous references); cf., for example, Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, 169, 177, 186 and 217n and II, 234–43 and Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government*, pp. 253–61.

[199] Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, 218: 'eine Bezonderheit, den glanzvollen Aufzug erhöhend … Der Kaiser, von Königen assistiert, konnte sich als Herr über die christlichen Könige fühlen'.

those assembled in Rome'.[200] To Frank Stenton, there was 'no doubt that [Cnut] regarded the coronation of an emperor as an appropriate moment for a gesture towards the formidable power which threatened his Jutish frontier'.[201]

Anglo-Saxon England was first published in 1943, and it is tempting to associate Stenton's interpretation with the wartime circumstances. There is no real reason to see Conrad's attitude towards Cnut as aggressive. It is true that the emperor's claims to power in Burgundy were direct and explicit, but one should remember that Conrad was the heir and successor to the old and childless King Rudolf, as Henry II had been. The Burgundian king was therefore in a sense something of a paternal figure.[202] Nonetheless, it is worth noting that, when Cnut wrote the letter to his English subjects where he explained his absence in 1027–8, he chose not to mention the coronation at all, but made it out that Conrad had been in Rome for the sole purpose of celebrating Easter.

> Be it known to you that there was a great assembly of nobles at the celebration of Easter, with the lord Pope John and the Emperor Conrad ... and they all both received me with honour and honoured me with precious gifts; but especially was I honoured by the emperor with various gifts and costly presents, with vessels of gold and silver as well as silk robes and very costly garments.[203]

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[200] Trillmich, *Kaiser Konrad II*, pp. 230–2: 'deshalb legte er in wikingischem Selbstbewußtstein großen Wert darauf, die in Rom versammelten durch prunkvolles Auftreten den Glanz seines Gefolges und Leutseligkeit zu beeindrucken'.

[201] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 407. Cf. also Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 103–4. Erkens (*Konrad II.*, pp. 85–6) has considered Rudolf and Cnut's assistance '[ein reiner] Ehrendienst'.

[202] On Rudolf, see Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 266–8.

[203] Transl. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents* p. 477; Liebermann, ed., *Gesetze* I, 276: 'Sit autem uobis notum, quia magna congregatio nobilum in ipsa pascali solennitate ibi cum domino papa Iohanne et imperatore Cuonrado erat ... qui omnes me et honorifice suscepere et donis pretiosis honorauere; maxime autem ab imperatore donis uariis et muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam in uasis aureis et argenteis quam in palliis et uestibus ualde pretiosis'.

Had Cnut found his role in the proceedings unbecoming? Certainly, there are reasons why, to the English, presenting himself as an assistant to *the* emperor could have been uncomfortable: even if the word 'empire' is often bandied around rather carelessly to describe Cnut's rulership, he had inherited an Anglo-Saxon tradition of imperial ceremony and titulature stretching back to the previous century.[204] Rituals of submissive assistance were often disguised by a facade of consensus and mutual benefit.[205] From the German point of view, and in particular in the context of Wipo's *Gesta Chuonradi*, there was certainly an awareness, an idea, of an extrovert (if not expansionist) imperial authority directed also towards Denmark and England.[206] Its potency should not be underestimated, but it is difficult to see any other instance of it being put into practice towards Scandinavia by Conrad, or indeed any of his Salian successors. German regnal relations with Cnut seem to have been friendly also in other cases: Cnut's daughter Gunnhild married the future Henry III in 1036 – they had been engaged the year before, while the Anglo-Danish king was still alive. She brought with her a chaplain called Tymmo, who took the German name Thietmar. Gunnhild died two years after her marriage to Henry, and just over a month later Tymmo/Thietmar was consecrated bishop of Hildesheim.[207] At some

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[204] As described, with reference to King Edgar (959–75), in Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', pp. 300–3. For the potency – and, to a significant extent, the construction – of Edgar's imperialism among authors with Benedictine affiliations in the early eleventh century and later, see Barrow, 'Chester's Earliest Regatta?', pp. 89–93. For a far from careless consideration of whether Cnut's rule was imperial in nature, see Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, pp. 289–316, with pp. 303–7 ('a comparison between the hegemonies of Conrad II and Cnut') being of particular interest. Bolton's take on imperialism is markedly realistic, as opposed to the ideological approach which has tended to dominate German scholarship.

[205] Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale*, pp. 93–7.

[206] On Wipo's brand of imperialism, see Beumann, 'Das Imperium und die Regna bei Wipo'.

[207] After Conrad's death, Tymmo/Thietmar, continued to cooperate with the king (his episcopate lasted from 1038 to 1044), and helped to assert royal influence on the nunnery of Gandersheim, in particular by installing as abbess Henry's and Gunnhild's only child, the then seven-year-old Beatrix, in 1044. He also functioned as a negotiator (and presumably interpreter) in the meeting between Duke Bernhard Billung, Archbishop Bezelin of Bremen, and King Magnus of Norway in 1042, discussed below, p. 96. On Tymmo/Thietmar, see Goetting, *Das Bistum Hildesheim 3*, pp. 256–63; on the

point, Conrad also ceded the marches north of the Eider, including Schleswig, to Denmark. The significance of this is uncertain: there is unlikely to have been much of a Saxon presence in the area at the time. Nevertheless, Conrad's friendliness towards Cnut appears to have served him well: the alliance with Cnut he reportedly negotiated through Archbishop Unwan of Hamburg-Bremen went further to ensure stability in Saxony, particularly as it may well have hindered Cnut from supporting his cousin Mieszko II in the Polish uprising of 1032.[208]

Cnut, of course, was something of a special case in German-Danish relations. Wipo styled him *rex Anglorum* after all. After his death, it may seem that Denmark – as was usual in the cases of Sweden and Norway – had fallen off the Salian radar. There are two obvious exceptions, and one less obvious: first, Cnut's nephew King Sven Estridsen was present at Henry III's Easter court at Merseburg in 1053. Accounts of this event are sparse, but its likely implications are discussed below.[209] Second, Henry IV and Sven Estridsen met at Lüneburg in 1071, again an attempt to stabilise an increasingly volatile Saxony, set up by Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen to 'embarrass' Duke Magnus Billung. Sven and Henry agreed to a military alliance against the rebellious Saxon aristocrats, but whether the Danes actually provided any military assistance in the Saxon wars of the 1070s, or later, is uncertain. Adam of Bremen saw the conference as successful in the short term, adding some glory to Adalbert's final years.[210] The other chroniclers who commented on the event – Bruno and Lampert of Hersfeld – represented the Saxon side of the conflict, and infused their work with a deep-seated hatred of Henry IV and Archbishop Adalbert, a formative influence on the young king.[211] The slanderous propaganda of Henry

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troublesome career of Abbess Beatrix (1044–61), see id., *Das Bistum Hildesheim 1*, pp. 94–5 and 298–300.

[208] Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 104–7; Trillmich, *Konrad II.*, pp. 230–1 and 261–2.

[209] Adam, *Gesta* III:18 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 161–2; transl. Tschan, pp. 129–30; Hermann of Reichenau, *Chronikon*, s. a. 1053 (ed. Pertz, p. 132). See below, p. 140–1.

[210] Adam, *Gesta* III:60 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 206; transl. Tschan, p. 167).

[211] On Lampert, see Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld'; on Bruno, see Althoff, 'Pragmatische Geschichtsschreibung und Krisen'; Adalbert's influence on Henry IV is discussed in detail in id.,

IV's Saxon wars was nothing if not inventive, and even if these two anti-Henricians wrote relatively close in time to the conference of 1071, they were more than prepared to blow up the slightest rumour of royal treachery towards the Saxons into a significant event. Both Lampert and Bruno described the meeting as secret, and both claimed the deal reached between the two kings concluded in plans for an aggressive war on Saxony waged both from the north and the south; and that Henry, if successful, would cede a significant portion of Saxon land to the Danes.[212] This never happened, but Lampert did report that, at some point soon after (his chronology is here somewhat confused, and he placed the Lüneburg meeting under 1073), a Danish fleet was sighted off the Saxon coast. The Danish warriors, however, when asked to lay waste to the land, refused, saying that the Saxons had served as a battlement to protect Denmark, and had never attacked it, even when they had the opportunity.[213] This, as has been pointed out, has the whiff of invention, but as a Saxon propagandist's view of what the Danes *should* be thinking about their southern neighbours, it is worth keeping in mind, particularly when considering Lothar III's policy towards Denmark in the 1130s.[214] Third: at some point around 1100, Henry IV appears to have encountered King Erik Ejegod (1095–1103). The meeting is impossible to contextualise: it is only referred to in passing in an Icelandic laudatory poem to King Erik composed soon after his death. Nonetheless, their interaction is notable both because King Erik was negotiating with the papacy to put an end to Hamburg-Bremen's Scandinavian metropolitanate at the time, and because of the language employed. Erik, says the poem, 'found himself pleased with the great gifts of the powerful emperor. The companion of lords [= Henry] gave him brave guides, ready for battle, all the way, before the noble

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Heinrich IV., pp. 52–7, 60–6, and 292–7 in particular; for context, see also Zey, 'Vormünder und Berater Heinrichs IV.', in particular pp. 105–12. For a very critical eleventh-century assessment, see Bruno, *Saxonicum bellum* II–V (ed. Lohmann, pp. 14–6).

[212] Ibid. XX (pp. 25–6); Lampert, *Annales*, ed. and transl. Schmidt, p. 174.

[213] Ibid., p. 200.

[214] E. Hoffmann, 'Die Salier und Skandinavien', pp. 259–61.

leader of the land of the Jótar [= Denmark] was able to meet Caesar'.[215] The particular pride taken in imperial gifts is reminiscent of Cnut the Great's letter to his English subjects quoted above.

If these were the only occasions after Conrad II's imperial coronation that the Salians actually met a Scandinavian ruler, this does not mean their Scandinavian interests had waned completely. Rather, they were furthered through delegation, mainly to the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. These occupied a peculiar position in relation to the Salians: they were at once at the margin of the German *regnum* and close to royal power: *reichsfern* and *königsnahe* at the same time.[216] Their concerns, and those of the German ruler are often assumed to have been largely congruent in the eleventh- and early twelfth centuries, and the view of Hamburg-Bremen as a royal outpost in northern Saxony generally holds up well, but it should be noted that the archbishops also acted autonomously, and that even if they were unlikely to go against royal wishes, any initiative would often have been theirs. Where royal involvement can be clearly apparent is in the appointment of archbishops. Of the three archbishops who assumed office during Conrad II's reign, one was a local man and locally elected: the obscure Liawizo (1029–32). Another, the 'monumental mistake' Hermann (1032-5), a former provost of Halberstadt who seldom visited his diocese (and Hamburg, according to Adam, only once, when he brought an army and took the opportunity to plunder the town), could have attained his office through

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[215] Markús Skeggjason, *Eiríksdrápa* (ed. and transl. J. Carroll, in Gade, ed., *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 2*, I, 453):

'... stórar lét sér randgarðs rýrir
ríks keisara gjafir líka.

Hönum lét til hervigs búna
harra spjalli láðmenn snjalla
alla leið, áðr öðlingr næði
Jóta grundar Césars fundi'.

[216] Johanek, 'Die Erzbischöfe von Hamburg-Bremen', p. 79.

imperial intervention, but there is no evidence.[217] The third, Bezelin (1035–43), also known as Alebrand, can however be closely associated with the emperor: he was a royal chaplain, and in a diploma of Conrad's of 1035 he was addressed with great affection. Bezelin maintained active and seemingly friendly diplomatic relationships with not only the dukes of Saxony, the Billungs, but also King Magnus of Norway and Denmark and his rival Sven Estridsen: he organised a meeting between Bernhard Billung and Magnus in Schleswig in 1042, in which the bishop of Hildesheim (the Dane Thietmar) also took part; furthermore, Adam tells of how three Slavic princes 'came peacefully to Hamburg and rendered military service to the duke and prelate'.[218]

None of the Hamburg-Bremen archbishops who came to office under Conrad appears to have had much of a political career in the more central parts of the *regnum*, but this changed considerably with two archiepiscopal appointments made by Henry III and Henry IV respectively: Adalbert (1043–72) and Liemar (1072–1101). I have considered their careers and ambitions below. Their different

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[217] Adam, *Gesta* II:68 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 127–9; transl. Tschan, pp. 101–3); see Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 267; Herwig Wolfram has assumed royal/central power behind the appointment of Hermann, as did Bernhard Glaeske (*Die Erzbischöfe*, p. 46); several scholars have also assumed that Hermann was identical with the Hermann whose election to the see of Halberstadt Henry II refused to acknowledge in 1023: see Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat*, p. 183n and the *Chronicon episcoporum Halberstadensium* (ed. Weiland, p. 92); according to Glaeske, the identification of this Hermann with the future Hamburg-Bremen archbishop has no firm ground: *Die Erzbischöfe*, p. 45.

[218] Adam, *Gesta* II:71: 'pacifice ad Hammaburg venientes duci ac presuli militabant' (ed. Schmeidler, p. 133; transl. Tschan, pp. 105–6); on the meeting at Schleswig see ibid. II:79 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 136–8; transl. Tschan, pp. 108–9). See also Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe*, pp. 46–51. Bezelin provides a successful example indeed of Conrad II's ecclesiastical policy (and Hermann perhaps the opposite), traditionally thought of as incoherent and weak, but that view has been generally revised since the publication of Theodor Schieffer's article 'Heinrich II. und Konrad II.: Die Umprägung des Geschichtbildes durch die Kirchenreform des 11. Jahrhunderts': see for example the three relatively recent biographies by Erkens (*Konrad II.*, pp. 199 - 203), Trillmich (*Kaiser Konrad II.*, pp. 317–32), and Wolfram (*Conrad II*, in particular pp. 249–54). Cf. notably the very different view in H. Hoffmann, *Mönchskönig und* Rex idiota.

backgrounds should nonetheless be noted here: Adalbert, like so many of Henry III's episcopal associates, was of the high nobility, a son of the count-palatine of Goseck in Thuringia: before his appointment, he had been the provost of Halberstadt.[219] Liemar, on the other hand, was of a Bavarian family of *ministeriales*, and had a reputation as an intellectual. After Liemar's death, Henry IV's influence was still strong in the archdiocese: according to Ebo of Michelsberg the cathedral chapter sent the archiepiscopal ring and staff to the imperial court. Henry first tried to persuade his chaplain and chancellor Otto to take up the position, but Otto – who next year would become bishop of Bamberg, and eventually celebrated as the evangeliser of Pomerania – declined.[220] Another chancellor, Humbert, was chosen, and held office from 1101 until 1104. Apart from his activity at the imperial chancery, Humbert's background remains as obscure as the rest of his career, despite the great changes the archbishopric underwent during his period in office.[221] Much the same can be said about his successor, Frederick (1104–23): his involvement in regnal politics appears to have been minimal, and his position in the Saxon uprisings of the 1110s is unknown. Like Humbert, he did not receive the pallium from the pope.[222] This changed after his death: Archbishop Adalbero (1123–48) had been a canon at Bremen already under Liemar, and his election by concordat and immediate journey to Rome to receive the pallium appear reflect the new, if not lasting, need for canonical consensus which followed the concordat of Worms.[223] Most importantly, in the present context, his episcopate seems to mark the return of royal interest in Hamburg-Bremen, and his efforts to reestablish the archdiocese's former glory and papal vicariate, at times with success, left a significant mark in the

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[219] Adalbert's brother Frederick, incidentally, was one of the conspirators against Henry IV in the uprising of 1073.

[220] Ebo of Michelsberg (writing in 1151×9), *Vita sancti Ottonis* I:7 (ed. Wikarjak, pp. 16–17).

[221] The creation of the archbishopric of Lund took place in 1103–4: see below, pp. 169–70; on Humbert: May, *Regesten*, no. 401–3; Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe*, pp. 120–1.

[222] Ibid., pp. 121–5; May, *Regesten*, no. 404–15.

[223] On the consequences of the concordat of Worms for European episcopal appointments, see Reuter, 'Ein Europa der Bischöfe', p. 27.

documentary records of Lothar III and Conrad III.[224] His successor, Hartwig (1148–68) continued, with increasing desperation, to lobby for renewed archiepiscopal authority in Scandinavia, calling to his aid popes, kings, and emperors both living and dead, mainly through an industrious programme of charter forgery. Again, he was well-known in Bremen by the time of his election – the provost of the cathedral chapter, in fact. His background was illustrious – even Adalbert did not have his aristocratic connections, and Hartwig's family was firmly rooted in the lands around Hamburg: they were the Udonen, the counts of Stade, pioneering settlers and exploiters of the lands north of the Elbe. His sister Liutgard had even been married to the Danish king (Erik Lam, 1137–46). By the time of his accession, his family was however in rapid decline: one by one his siblings were murdered (the oldest brother, Lothar Udo, in 1130; the middle brother, Rudolf, in 1144), their land usurped by Henry the Lion or Count Adolf of Holstein. When Liutgard was killed by her third husband's ministeriales in 1152, the only Udonen left were Hartwig and his sister Richardis, a nun.[225]

The possibility of military cooperation between the Danish and German kings was in fact broached again under Henry V: this in the so-called Magdeburg Charter of 1107/8, generally taken as an important text in the development of crusading ideology, and the expansion of Christian holy war beyond the eastern Mediterranean. The document is a call to arms, addressed by a group of Saxons to the clerical and lay hierarchies of the rest of Germany, to help them to defend themselves against the heathen Slavs, whose misdeeds are described in horrific detail. The planned effort is directly compared to the triumphant exploits of the *Galli* in the Holy Land, and the Slavic lands to Jerusalem. The signatories promise the support of Henry V, and 'the king of the Danes and his people and other princes

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[224] As discussed below, pp. 149–64, with reference to the careers of Bishops Hermann of Roskilde and Siward of Uppsala.

[225] On Hartwig, see Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe*, pp. 146–9; the well-known art-historian and chronicler of Hamburg Bremen Georg Dehio wrote his doctoral thesis on Hartwig in 1872: *Hartwich von Stade*. See also below, p. 97.

through the region'.[226] Even if the appeal, as far as can be seen, had no actual results, crusades and crusading ideology provide a fertile context for viewing the development of imperial relations to Denmark in the first half of the twelfth century.

German imperialism, from the Ottonians to the Staufer, operated along a spectrum ranging from the abstract to the concrete: from the literary topos, via ritual, to the application of violence. Throughout the eleventh century and twelfth centuries, its conceptual core, although by no means static, developed only slowly.[227] The idea of an Ottonian programme of revival of the ancient Roman empire, classically attributed to Otto III, has come under heavy criticism, but the basic association of the German king and emperor with Romanity was frequent, also in official titulature, from Henry II onwards.[228] Rome was central in claims to universal imperialism, that is the idea that the German ruler occupied a hegemonic position vis-à-vis all Christian rulers. Anselm of Besate's dedication of his *Rhetorimachia* to Henry III enumerated the Salian's subject nations, and included not only Hungary, France, and *Britannia*, but also Ethiopia, Greece, and Judea.[229] Here, the literary models of classical Rome fly absurdly in the face of eleventh-century reality. *Laudes tue*, Anselm, pompously comparing himself to Virgil, told Henry, *non minus sint Augusti*.[230] An anonymous poem written at some point during Henry IV's minority expressed similar ideas, but developed the subject further: the emperor was set to initiate a golden age, unite Greece and Rome, raise Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Charlemagne from the dead, and rule all peoples by ancient laws, *sub Petri*

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[226] Israël and Möllenberg, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Erzstifts Magdeburg*, no. 193 (p. 251: 'rex Dacorum et alii principes per circuitum'). See also Constable, 'Early Crusading in Eastern Germany', whence the translation (p. 213).

[227] For an introduction (concerned with the period 750–1150), see Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', in particular pp. 246–51 on the eleventh- and twelfth-century empire.

[228] Beumann, *Der deutsche König als 'Romanorum rex'*; for the idea of an Ottonian programme of Roman renewal, see Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und* Renovatio; cf. the stringent criticism in Althoff, *Otto III.*, pp. 114–25.

[229] Anselm of Besate, *Rhetorimacia*, ed. Manitius, p. 98.

[230] Ibid., p. 99.

clavibus.[231] Under Henry IV, a writer whose classical pretensions were very much in the mold of Anselm of Besate's, Benzo of Alba, the most obsessive of anti-Gregorians, explicitly associated Henry with the famous prophecy of the Tiburtine sibyl of an ultimate emperor who was to reunite the old Roman empire, proceed to conquer Jerusalem, and pledge his empire in the hands of God. Visions of Charlemagne, calling out to his successor *ut amicus amico*, urged Henry on.[232] Benzo heaped praise on the imperial office and imperial ceremony, and had a correspondingly low opinion of other kings. He contrasted the splendour of an imperial coronation with its more ordinary kingly equivalent, which he described in an appropriately diminutive chapter, worth quoting in its entirety: 'Thus, two little bishops hold hands with a little king of a single province. A little iron cross precedes him, and behind him follows a little rural mob'.[233]

Anselm and Benzo have often been cited liberally in accounts of German political theory in the Salian period.[234] This is problematic: for one thing, neither was much of a political theorist himself, and both were too eccentric and idiosyncratic by far to incorporate into any coherent theoretical system.[235] Nevertheless, as remote as their claims would have seemed from the political realities of the eleventh century, the

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[231] *Exhortatio ad proceres regni*: E. Dümmler, ed., 'Gedichte aus dem 11. Jahrhundert', p. 177.

[232] Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV. imperatorem* I:15–17 (ed. and transl. Seyffert, pp. 142–55). On Benzo, see Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, pp. 70–5. On the medieval diffusion of the prophecies of the Tiburtine sibyl, see Holdenried, *The Sibyl and her Scribes*.

[233] Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV. imperatorem* I:8 (ed. and transl. Seyffert, pp. 124–5): 'Duo igitur episcopelli sustentant manus unius provinciæ regulelli. Antecedit eum ferrea crucicula, retro prosequitur agrestis plebicula'. Benzo's diminutives suffer somewhat in English translation. Cf. the imperial coronation: ibid. I:7 and I:9–12 (pp. 122–35).

[234] For a (successful) relatively recent example, see Struve, 'Strategien zur Konsolidierung salischer Herrschaft'.

[235] To Donald Bullough, Anselm of Besate's *Rhetorimacia* was absurd 'in the sense in which a work like *Tristram Shandy* is absurd and for some of the same reasons – which make it equally readable (or unreadable)': see his review of Manitius, ed., *Gunzo: Epistola ad Augiensem und Anselm von Besate: Rhetorimacia*, p. 489. Benzo's text is a great deal angrier (and longer), but deserves the same appreciation.

following decades saw related ideas taking shape in ways which sometimes had considerable practical consequences. The prophecy of the last Roman emperor was used, most notably, by Bernhard of Clairvaux to rally German support for the Second Crusade in 1147, in direct association with Conrad III.[236] It became an important constituent of the rising eschatological excitement of the mid-twelfth century.[237] In Germany, its most eloquent proponent was Otto of Freising, who had witnessed the apocalyptic fervour and dismal failure of Second Crusade first-hand.[238] In the triumphant turn which his historical and eschatological narrative took with the accession of Frederick I, Otto contributed to the increasingly sacral aura surrounding the imperial office. Frederick's reign saw the culmination of a number of imperialist themes which had emerged already in the previous century: the canonisation of Charlemagne in 1165, the wide diffusion of the term *sacrum imperium*, also in political documents.[239] A century after his lifetime, some of Benzo of Alba's writings would have appeared a lot less unrealistic than, one imagines, they did to his contemporaries.

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[236] Kahl, 'Crusade Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard'; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 228–43. For the fundamental account of the prophecy of an 'ultimate emperor' and crusading ideology, see Erdmann, 'Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert', and id., *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, pp. 265–79. Erdmann's work still has great value, even if his concentration on intellectuals and higher thought may sit uncomfortably in the realist mainstream of modern English-language crusades studies. For an eventually sympathetic evaluation of Erdmann's present-day validity, see Riley-Smith, 'Erdmann and the Historiography of the Crusades'.

[237] Goetz, 'Endzeiterwartung und Endzeitvorstellung'.

[238] Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', pp. 281–92; Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising*, pp. 280–1.

[239] Weinfurter, 'Wie das Reich heilig wurde' (as a recent example of a long and complex German historiography on this topic). On the theme of universal imperialism under the Staufer, and its usages and limits, see H. E. Mayer, 'Staufische Weltherrschaft?'; Mayer asserted (p. 187) that a universal empire was never a concrete political objective under Frederick I (which seems almost self-evident: it would have been impossible in practice), but admitted the potency of the rhetoric of universal imperialism in Frederick's relations to other western rulers.

How, then, do Denmark and Scandinavia fit into the development summarised above? First of all, Denmark was of course, as Saxo had it, no Thuringia. In fact, the north of Germany, specifically Lower Saxony, Frisia, and the northeastern marches, received little royal attention in the Salian period. It has been suggested that the Salians experienced a permanent *Normannenproblem* at the Jutish border, in evidence in Conrad II's deferential attitude towards Cnut the Great, but the argument is problematic: as was argued above, their relations were complex, and included a significant ritual demonstration of Anglo-Danish assistance to imperial grandeur.[240] Not unexpectedly, especially as German scholarship has moved further and further away from attributing long-term political programmes to the Salians, and earlier state-formation narratives are increasingly thought to suffer from serious anachronisms, there is in fact no real evidence of a coherent Salian *Nordpolitik.* Isolated instances of regnal contact in the second half of the eleventh century amount to little. At that level, a more interesting question is perhaps to ask how the German interest in the north compares with the interest in the east, particularly given the scholarly concerns about 'Europeanisation' at the frontiers of western Christendom introduced in the first chapter of this thesis, and the enormous historiography on eleventh- and twelfth-century imperialist *Ostpolitik.* On the most abstract level, the attitude of the German rulers, the extrovert imperialism described above, may not have differed very much. In terms of actual German intervention and military activity, the differences are nonetheless vast: when Lothar sent troops into Denmark in 1134, it was the first military expedition of an East Frankish/German king into Scandinavia since the tenth century. Warfare on Germany's eastern frontier, on the other hand, both with more-or-less loose constellations of pagan Slavs south of the Baltic, and with the Christian polities of East Central Europe, was recurrent and significant throughout the period.[241]

In the twelfth century, the difference between German attitudes to the east and Denmark was cemented in crusading ideology. No matter how important it is not to

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[240] Cf. Prinz, 'Die Grenzen des Reiches in frühsalischer Zeit', p. 162.

[241] Boshof, 'Das Salierreich und der europäischen Osten'.

fall into old *Drang nach Osten*-clichés, it has to be recognised that the expansion of the Saxons, Westfalians, Flemish, and others into the Slavic lands east of Saxony and on the southern Baltic was cloaked in a rhetoric of superiority, even racism.[242] In the struggle against the wild and bloodthirsty Slavs, the Danes and the Swedes were Christian fellow fighters. There was, however, another side to the coin: from a Saxon point of view, the Danes had become the competitors for the riches of the southern Baltic. There are good reasons to place the German involvement in the Danish civil wars of the 1130s in the context of territorial politics in the Nordalbingian-Pomeranian area. At the centre of all this was Cnut Lavard, son of King Erik Ejegod (1096–1103), raised at the comital (ducal, from 1106) court of Lothar of Süpplingenburg. During the long reign of his uncle Niels (1103–34), Cnut Lavard built up a powerbase around Schleswig, funded by the exploitation of Slavic-speakers in the lands around Mecklenburg, known as Abodrites, and became duke of Schleswig around 1120. Thus, by the late years of the reign of Henry V, both Cnut Lavard and Lothar had managed to accrue the land and resources to each form their own semi-independent polity, which, in a curious mirror-image, cut off both Salian power in the south, and Danish royal power in the north, from exploiting the Baltic.[243]

Lothar's interests in southern Denmark, and his relations with Cnut Lavard and the Danish royal dynasty, should be seen as one stage – and an early climax – in a series of confrontations and arrangements between the dominant aristocratic families in Saxony and the kings, queens, and princes of Denmark in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. From a Scandinavian point of view, relations with the dukes, counts, and margraves of northern Saxony (as with the princes of Poland and Novgorod, and Christian rulers in Nordalbingia and Pomerania) were of more

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[242] Using the word advisedly: Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 196–242. On the many problems of German traditional *Ostforschung*, see Althoff, 'Die Beurteilung'.

[243] For a convenient summary of the situation, see Degn, *Schleswig-Holstein*, pp. 46–7; further, Beumann, 'Das päpstlische Schisma von 1130' and Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs*, pp. 59–66.

immediate importance than those with the German kings. They furthered their aims in the region by alliances and marriages, and by sending sons to fosterage at foreign courts. These aims were defensive and exploitative: arrangements of this kind helped to control the waterways of the southern Baltic, both in terms of protection against piracy, and to further the accumulation of wealth, whether by trade or by plunder.[244] The themes of these relations were present at an early stage: Duke Bernhard II Billung of Saxony (around 1011–59) and Cnut the Great worked in alliance to establish a Christian dynasty among the Nordalbingian Slavs. In 1042, King Magnus of Norway-Denmark met Duke Bernhard and Archbishop Bezelin in Schleswig, as mentioned above, and Bernhard's son Ordulf was married to Magnus's sister.[245] As the importance of the Billung family diminished in northern Saxony, from the 1070s onwards, others took their place, notably the already important Udonen, counts of Stade and margraves of the Northern March, and other noblemen who had made their wealth in the eastern marches.[246] The rapid rise of Lothar, duke of Saxony after the death of the last male member of the Billung family in 1106, and the elevation by Lothar of the, until then, quite unheard-of Schauenburg family to the county of Holstein in 1111, deserve particular mention.[247]

Also the scope of action of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen was determined by the Saxon aristocracy. Indeed, Archbishop Adalbert, at the height of his powers during Henry IV's minority, was himself one of the most important lords and landowners in Saxony, and his downfall in 1066 was a profitable opportunity for land-hungry noblemen.[248] One of the very few known acts of Archbishop Frederick (1104–23) was the invitation of Netherlanders to drain for cultivation part of the archbishopric's possessions in the marshes near Bremen in 1106, the first known

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[244] See id., 'The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Region East of the Elbe'.

[245] Adam, *Gesta* II:79 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 136–8; transl. Tschan, pp. 108–9), and above p. 84.

[246] Althoff, 'Die Billunger in der Salierzeit', p. 328; for the development of aristocratic power and possessions in Lower Saxony in this period, see importantly Pischke, *Herrschaftsbereiche*.

[247] Degn, *Schlesiwg-Holstein*, p. 46.

[248] Adam, *Gesta* III:46 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 188–90; transl. Tschan, pp. 152–4).

instance of what was to become a well-known pattern of German aristocratic colonial settlement in ensuing generations.[249] In Adam's narrative the overbearing presence of the Billungs and the Udonen is a constant source of vexation.[250] When Henry III visited Lesum in 1048, an alleged plot against the king organised by a member of the Billung family was thwarted by Archbishop Adalbert.[251] On two occasions Saxon noblemen took the archbishop captive: Liemar was seized in 1088 and held by Count Lothar of Süpplingenburg until the following year; in 1144 the fifteen-year-old Henry the Lion attempted to wrangle the possessions of the counts of Stade out of the hands of the archdiocese by imprisoning archbishop Adalbero and the last surviving male member of the Stade family, Hartwig (archbishop 1148–68), who that same year had become provost of the Bremen cathedral chapter and donated most of the family possessions to the archbishopric.[252] Bremen was raided and plundered repeatedly: notably by Hermann Billung in 1064, then several times during the Saxon wars of the 1070s, and finally by Henry the Lion in 1151.[253]

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[249] Schmidt, 'Die Bremer Kirche und der Unterweserraum', p. 18.

[250] On the relations between the Billung family and the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, see Althoff, 'Die Billunger in der Salierzeit', pp. 325–8. For the period around 1070–1125, see Goez, 'Das Erzbistum Hamburg-Bremen im Investiturstreit'.

[251] Adam, *Gesta* III:8 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 148–50; transl. Tschan, pp. 120–1); the aftermath was messy and the consequences serious: Althoff, 'Die Billunger in der Salierzeit', pp. 319–22.

[252] This was part of Hartwig's strategy in the aftermath of the murder of his older brother Count Rudolf II by the settlers of Dithmarschen, as mentioned above (the oldest brother had been killed at the instigation of Albert the Bear in 1130). Another part of Hartwig's strategy to defend his family inheritance was marrying his sister Liutgard to the king of Denmark, Erik Lam (1137–46). After the king's death Liutgard remarried, but when she – again mentioned above – and her husband were murdered in 1152, the last remaining hurdle for Henry the Lion's incorporation of the Stade estates into his Saxon duchy disappeared. On the conflicts concerning the Stade inheritance, see Althoff, 'Heinrich der Löwe und das Stader Erbe', in particular pp. 66–72; against Althoff's argument that the so-called Annalista Saxo was a product of this struggle, and represented Hartwig's point of view, cf. Naß, *Die Reichschronik*, pp. 360–5. For context, see also Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, pp. 28–33. On Liemar's capture, see for example *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo*, s. a. 1089 (ed. Naß, p.)

[253] Adam, *Gesta* III:44 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 186–7; transl. Tschan, p. 151); Bruch, 'Die alte Bremer Dombibliothek', pp. 292–6.

To the modern observer, reading the chronicles of the period, the sheer unpleasantness of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Saxon conflicts is striking: seemingly constant low-level violence, interrupted at regular intervals by open warfare and brutal bloodshed.[254] The fragile and violence-infested Danish kingdom was, in these respects, similar to the notoriously unstable Saxony; and in many ways, the Danish civil wars of the first half of the twelfth century form a continuum with the conflicts between the counts of Stade, Lothar of Süpplingenburg, Albert the Bear, Count Adolf of Holstein, Henry the Lion, and others. Increasingly, they formed part of the same system of ravenous colonial principalities and aristocracies.[255] The enormous economic potential of trade and tribute-taking in the Baltic and on the Frisian coast set the stage for sudden and dramatic fluctuations in power and wealth.[256] As the focus of attention of the Saxon aristocracy shifted from the east towards the north, from modern-day Saxony towards modern-day Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, entanglements became more complex, competition and conflict more acute.

Cnut Lavard was murdered in 1131, and some of the consequences were described above. The exact reasoning behind Lothar's intervention in 1134, and the subjection of Magnus (the son of Niels) remain unclear, but it seems certain that this demonstration of German imperialism had its background in local events, and allegiances dating back years before Lothar was crowned German king. In 1146, Cnut Lavard became the Danish crusading saint *par éxcellence*, and when his son Valdemar was elevated by Frederick I in 1152 to lead the reestablished duchy of Schleswig, similar themes reappeared.[257] Frederick's actions at Easter that year

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[254] On the intensity and harshness of the Saxon wars, see Leyser, 'The Crisis of medieval Germany', pp. 22–4.

[255] Cf. Bartlett, 'Colonial Aristocracies of the High Middle Ages' and id., *The Making of Europe*, pp. 43–59.

[256] See below, pp. 99–104.

[257] It is unfortunate for anyone trying to make sense of the complexities of Danish twelfth-century politics that most of the participants have the same names. The fact that there are two St Cnuts is symptomatic.

betray several of the tendencies in the development of imperial ideology associated with his reign: by favouring Sven Grathe, Valdemar, and by association St Cnut Lavard, he played the part of the leader of Christian expansionism and the successor of Charlemagne; by repeatedly, over the coming decades, demanding the subjection of the Danish king, he attempted to put into practice claims of universal imperialism which dated back centuries. If eleventh- and twelfth-century German imperialism could be characterised by relative conceptual stability, its application was nonetheless very flexible indeed, and when Lothar and Frederick made the effort to flex the imperial muscles towards Denmark, their actions were anchored in pragmatism and specific local circumstances. The events of 1134, 1152, and 1162, probably best described in broad terms of ritual submission, avoiding the cumbersome vocabulary of feudalism, saw smaller-scale matters trigger the large-scale imperial ideological machinery, and only then did the subjection of the Danish kings take meaningful form.

3:1:2. Trends in Baltic Mercantile History, c. 1050–1150

Only a few words will be said here about developments in Baltic trade involving German and Scandinavian merchants in the second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth: the subject is hardly central to the thesis, but is essential for understanding how the preconditions for personal mobility, and for the movement of goods, culture, and ideas between Germany and the Scandinavian kingdoms changed in this period. Fortunately, this topic has long attracted scholarly attention, and all that is needed here is a summary. This, it should be stressed, is not to say that there is any comfortable scholarly consensus. Traditionally, in fact, there has been a sharp division between German and Scandinavian research traditions. Central to the old-fashioned German view of events was the foundation of Lübeck (as a German, rather than Slavic-dominated trading centre) in 1143 by Count Adolf II of Holstein, and the 'second foundation' of Lübeck in 1159, when the town passed into the hands of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. 'The foundation of Lübeck', according to one of the most prominent twentieth-century German historians of trade

and towns in the Baltic, 'was not the foundation of one town among others, but the deliberate initiation of a far-reaching *programme*, which in the first instance aimed for the German merchant to achieve economic hegemony in the Baltic'.[258] Count Adolf and Duke Henry were the fundamental figures in this version of events, and their actions brought German entrepreneurial spirit, competence, and new technology to the Baltic, including previously unseen large transport ships, cogs, and laid the foundations for what was to turn into the Hanseatic league. At the same time, the city of Hamburg grew quickly in size and importance. Until this date, the movement of goods and people between the North Sea and the Baltic, between East and West, had predominantly passed through Hollingstedt on the Eider, and then overland to Schleswig or its predecessor Hedeby. This trading-route bottleneck – immensely profitable to those who controlled it – was now replaced by a German one, in which merchants left the North Sea via the Elbe, then travelled overland from Hamburg to the river Trave, and to the Baltic via Lübeck (or westwards by the same route). The Lübeck-Hamburg axis quickly replaced Schleswig as the hub of the Baltic economy.[259]

This triumphant, nationalist narrative, and all the ideological and emotional baggage attached to the figure of Henry the Lion, the Hanseatic cog, and German *Ostsiedlung* in general, was less popular outside Germany, and there were sometimes bitter disagreements between Scandinavian and German scholars, particularly in the immediate postwar period.[260] The most prominent medievalists (indeed, in some ways, the most prominent historians) of their time in Sweden and Denmark

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[258] Rörig, 'Die Gründungsunternehmerstädte des 12. Jahrhunderts', p. 262: 'Nicht um die Gründung einer Stadt neben anderen handelt es sich bei Lübeck's Gründung, sondern um den bewußten Beginn eines weitschauenden *Programms*, das zunächst auf die Gewinnung der wirtschaftlichen Vorherrschaft des deutschen Kaufmanns auf der Ostsee zielte'.

[259] See id., 'Die Enstehung der Hanse und der Ostseeraum' and the summary of the traditional German narrative of the pre-Hanseatic Baltic trade in Jahnke, 'Handelsstrukturen im Ostseeraum', pp. 145–7.

[260] See the historiographical account by id., *Das Silber des Meeres*, pp. 8–11. On the modern reputation of Henry the Lion, see Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, pp. 261–6.

respectively, Erik Lönnroth and Aksel E. Christensen, argued with force that the dominance of Lübeck and German mercantile colonies around the Baltic began only in the thirteenth century, and that, in fact, many of the technological innovations which formed the basis of the subsequent Hanseatic triumph were not at all Frisian, Westfalian, or Saxon, but Scandinavian. Mercantile terms in Slavic languages were Scandinavian loanwords, not from Low German or Dutch; indeed, they argued, much of the technical Hanseatic vocabulary itself was of Scandinavian origin.[261] More recent research has in some ways pointed in the same direction: notably, dendrochronology and new archaeological discoveries indicate that the first Baltic 'cogs' (a term variously defined by different scholars) were built not in Germany, but in southern Jutland around the middle of the twelfth century.[262] Importantly, archaeological evidence has also been argued to show that the development of Baltic trade is not simply a question of 'German or Scandinavian', but points to innovations diffused from the Slavic-speaking lands on the southern coast.[263] A recent, and most welcome, attempt at a reevaluation of trading patterns in the pre-Hanseatic Baltic by Christian Jahnke has set out to avoid the nationalist overtones of much of the earlier research.[264] Jahnke has stressed how the foundation of Lübeck was 'not a settlement on virgin soil, but a bestowal of town status to an existing, mercantile settlement with a degree of international recognition'.[265] Henry the Lion's actions did not initiate an influx of German merchants to the Baltic, but were an affirmation that a gradual, 'slow increase of German merchants ... had reached a

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[261] Lönnroth, 'Hansestäderna och Sverige'; Christensen, 'Scandinavia and the Advance of the Hanseatics'; see also above, p. 14.

[262] Daly and Hocker, 'Early Cogs, Jutland Boatbuilders, and the Connection between the East and West'; Englert, '*Naves magnae*'. On the term 'cog', see Jahnke, 'Handelsstrukturen im Ostseeraum', pp. 176–80.

[263] Indruszewski, Nilsson and Ważny, 'The Ships that Connected People'.

[264] Jahnke, 'Handelsstrukturen im Ostseeraum'.

[265] Ibid., p. 156: 'nicht ... eine Siedlung auf grüner Wiese, sondern nur um die Stadterhebung einer vorhandenden Kaufmannssiedlung mit internationalem Bekanntheitsgrad'.

first critical point'.[266] The documents and privileges issued by Henry in the years around 1160 were revelatory rather than revolutionary, and Lübeck was intended as an integrative gathering point for Baltic merchants of various nationalities. Other centres, notably Schleswig and Bardowick, remained important into the thirteenth century.[267]

The foundation of Lübeck can, then, be seen not only as a beginning, but also as a culmination of at least a century of gradual qualitative and quantitative change in the Baltic economy. At the centre of all this swims a deceptively modest fish: the Baltic herring.[268] By the mid-eleventh century, the principal attraction of the Baltic economy was fur, exported mainly from the vast forested hinterlands of Novgorod, either via the southern Baltic coasts, or the islands of Gotland, Öland, and Bornholm.[269] Gradually, however, less prestigious goods became more important, and bulk trade began to complement the luxury trade. The herring – plentiful and, when salted, easy to preserve for long periods of time – became increasingly attractive to Continental merchants. The fisheries of the Slavic-speaking island of Rügen were particularly valuable – Otto of Bamberg marvelled at how plentiful Pomeranian herring was, and in 1147 the monks of Corvey forged a charter claiming the island had been granted to them by Louis the Pious.[270] The riches of Rügen no doubt helped to motivate the twelfth-century Danish campaigns against the island (although Rugian pirates presented a very real and painful danger to the Danish kingdom), first with Erik Emune's unsuccessful attempt at converting and subjecting the islanders in 1135, and most famously when Bishop Absalon of Roskilde

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[266] Ibid., p. 162: 'die ... langsame Zunahme deutscher Kaufleute im Ostseeraum ... [hatte] einen ersten kritischen Punkt überschritten'.

[267] For a recent summary of the continued significance of Schleswig, see Radtke, 'Money, Port and Ships'.

[268] For a fascinating account of the medieval trade in Baltic herring, see Jahnke, *Das Silber des Meeres*; also id., 'Wege und Absatzmärke im Handel mit Ostseehering' for a summary.

[269] Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness*, pp. 35–60.

[270] Jahnke, *Das Silber des Meeres*, pp. 15–38.

conquered Arkona in 1168 – the climax of the 'Wendish crusades' and an ideologically highly loaded episode in Danish national history.[271]

The resources exported from Germany to the Baltic also gradually changed: in most of the eleventh century they had been, overwhelmingly, silver. After the flow of Arabic dirhams into the Baltic subsided in the later tenth century, German coins began to predominate – the opening of the silver mines in the Rammelsberg near Goslar in 968 was an important starting point. By the mid-eleventh century, this influx of coins was at its peak. Schleswig functioned as a 'bureau de change' of sorts, where the monetary economy of the West met the bullion economy of the Baltic, but it seems to have been the island of Gotland outside the coast of southern Sweden which saw the greatest benefits: certainly among Scandinavian coin finds, those from Gotland are almost entirely dominant.[272] The number of German silver coins found along the Baltic coasts also gives some idea of the sheer scale of the Baltic economy: some 270,000 coins from between 1000 and 1150, minted on the Continent (that is, principally in Germany, with about a third to one half from the large trading centres on the Rhine, Weser, and the North Sea coast) have been found along the western and southern Baltic coasts. Numbers like this are difficult to interpret, but it is clear that the coin finds represent only a small part of the silver that was exported to the Baltic in this period. Scholarly estimates point to millions and millions of coins being in circulation at any given time in the eleventh century.[273] As the century drew to a close, the flow of German silver coins into the Baltic appears to have petered out – or at least, there are fewer and fewer finds. This reflected economic change, but – as implied in the discussion above – certainly no

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[271] Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XIV:1:6–7 (on the 1135 campaign) XIV:39:1–49 (on the battle of Arkona): ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg II, 142–5 and 355–81. Cf. Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica* CVIII (ed. and transl. Stoob, p. 371–5), who specifically mentioned the herring market.

[272] See Radtke, 'Money, Port and Ships', for a convenient summary (focussed on Schleswig). On German merchants in Gotland, see Kattinger, *Die gotländische Genossenschaft*, in particular pp. 8–60 (on the period before 1143); the classic work on trade between Sweden and Germany from a numismatic point of view is Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, in particular pp. 163–86.

[273] Radtke, 'Money, Port and Ships', pp. 147–8.

shrinking of the Baltic economy. Instead, the Schleswig and Gotlandic trade was increasingly monetised. Salt – needed to preserve the herring – replaced silver as the most important German export to the north. The Lüneburg salt mines, whose product was exported to the north via Bardowick, were of particular importance.[274] Baltic trade had begun to grow regular, systematic, and – in the case of the herring market – markedly seasonal. The system became more sophisticated, and personal mobility increased. Preconditions for cultural transfer across the sea were transformed: isolated instances of contact gave way to regular interaction. Put in the most basic terms, there were many more Germans in the Baltic sphere on a regular basis in 1150 than in 1050.

3.2. The Scandinavian Interests of the German Church

3.2.1. Introduction

> This and other laments of compunction we often heard from him, even that he many times longed to become a monk. Sometimes, also, he wished he might merit dying in the ministry of his legateship either in Slavia or in Sweden or in remotest Iceland.[275]

Thus Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen, allowed a rare moment of regret and self-reflection in Adam's account of his moral and political decline. The archbishop's proposed exile and death in the barbarian north never happened. Likewise, his dreams of a Scandinavian tour in his guise as the 'fourth evangelist' of the north (after his predecessors Ansgar, Rimbert, and Unni) were diplomatically dispelled by King Sven Estridsen of Denmark, who convinced him that 'barbarian peoples could

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[274] Jahnke, 'Handelsstrukturen im Ostseeraum', pp. 153–4.

[275] Adam, *Gesta* III:70: 'Haec et alia nos in illo compunctionis lamenta sepe contemplati sumus, adeo ut monachus fieri multotiens desideraverit. Aliquando etiam optabat, ut in ministerio legationis suae aut in Sclavania vel in Suedia sive in ultima Island obire mereretur' (ed. Schmeidler, p. 218; transl. Tschan, p. 178).

be converted more easily by men of their language and of similar ways than by ignorant persons averse to the customs of their kind'.[276] Plans for a synod with Hamburg-Bremen's Scandinavian suffragans in Denmark in 1062 or soon after failed when several bishops refused to appear.[277] In fact, if Adalbert ever went north of Schleswig, his biographer failed to mention it. The passage cited above should nevertheless not be discounted: this subchapter will be concerned with the interests German churchmen had in Scandinavia between the mid-eleventh and mid-twelfth centuries, and the motives and arguments lying behind a career in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, or Iceland. Adalbert's suggestion provides just that: an example of why someone might wish to go to Scandinavia. In this case, barbarity and remoteness were associated with monastic retirement as a means of escaping the exertions and moral compromises of the archiepiscopal duties at home.

Two basic critical thrusts underlie the subchapter: the first is that, for all that Christianisation was a 'gradual' process, there is a significant distinction to be drawn between first- and second-generation mission. Even if methods and circumstances may have been similar for churchmen who set out to convert and churchmen who set out to edify a recently converted population, the aims and motivations behind them were different. Rhetoric can be misleading here: well into the second half of the twelfth century, writers from Rome to Durham continued to write even about Norway as a missionary zone.[278] This distinction will also be important when assessing the interest of Hamburg-Bremen in Scandinavia, and its variation across time and space. Second: that written sources on the Christianisation of western and central Europe, often hagiographical or quasi-hagiographical, tended to over-

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[276] Ibid. III:72: 'Barbaras gentes facilius posse converti per homines suae linguae morumque similium quam per ignotas ritumque nationis abhorrentes personas' (ed. Schmeidler, p. 220; my translation).

[277] Ibid. III:74 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 221; transl. Tschan, p. 181).

[278] Boso, *Vita Adriani*, edited and translated in B. Bolton and A. Duggan, ed., *Adrian IV*, pp. 214–15 (see above, p. 31–2); Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus*, ed. Rain, pp. 108–9. Reginald, writing in the 1160s and '70s, in fact seems to have been relatively well-acquainted with Norwegian conditions, as revealed elsewhere in his work: see Conti, Crumplin, and Haki Antonsson, 'A Norwegian in Durham'.

emphasise piety and purely spiritual urges as the motivation for their protagonists to leave the comforts of their long-Christian homelands.[279] Apostolic imperative, however, is not explanation enough. No doubt the zeal of an Ansgar, Bruno of Querfurt, or Vicelin was genuine, but it could serve to disguise the fact that clergy who made the passage from the Christian European centre to the wild peripheries were often motivated by other factors: coercion from their superiors, the need to escape trouble at home, sheer *Wanderlust*. Or, for that matter, the prospect of material gains: the anonymous narrator of the eleventh-century Middle High German fragmentary poem known as *Merigarto* claimed to have met a wise and virtuous cleric and entrepreneur called Reginbert in Utrecht, who had travelled to Iceland, *da'r michiln rihtuom vant* ('where he gained great riches'), selling honey, wine, and alder-wood.[280]

3:2:2. Churchmen's Motives and Ideals in Adam of Bremen's History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen

Up until the 1070s, almost all knowledge about the activity of foreign clergy in Scandinavia comes from Adam of Bremen. It will therefore be worth dwelling for a while on the clerical ideals that informed Adam's history. What makes a good missionary in this particular textual context? What urges its protagonists to make the journey into the northern wilderness? In a sense, Adam's *Gesta* may seem a perfect source for such an enquiry: it contains judgments on a large number of episcopal and archiepiscopal careers, giving reasons and explanations for the failure of one, for the success of another. Even richer is the self-reflective account of Archbishop Adalbert's career, where Adam set out to provide the reader with pros and cons to understand the rise and fall of this glorious but deeply flawed churchman. However, the enquiry is in fact far from straightforward: in the rich tradition of Adam-

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[279] For a discussion of this literature and its problems and possibilities until around 1050, see I. Wood, *The Missionary Life*.

[280] *Merigarto*, ed. Maurer, III, 65–75; for a Modern German translation, see Voorwinden, *Merigarto*, pp. 29–30, which also includes a (not very convincing) discussion of the identity of Reginbert.

scholarship, historians have had highly divergent opinions on the reliability, purposes, sympathies, and loyalties of Adam's work, as a basic run-through of significant twentieth-century work will quickly reveal (concentrating on scholars that have treated Adam's *Gesta* as a whole, and foregoing – for the moment – studies focussed on a particular aspect or section).

Traditional, positivist German historians regarded Adam as admirably balanced – indeed, Joachim Leuschner in the *Neue deutsche Biographie* (paraphrasing Bernhard Schmeidler) praised his 'careful, mature judgment, ... psychological understanding of men and peoples, [and] sober and research-oriented love of truth', which elevated his work 'far above the series of eleventh-century episcopal- and monastic histories'.[281] In Sweden, on the other hand, Lauritz Weibull's hard-line *Quellenkritik* hit also Adam – although his comprehensive settling of accounts with Saxo and the sagas left the *Gesta* one of a few written sources for pre-1100 Scandinavian history still worth considering – and his reading could sometimes be informed by a fundamental dislike of Hamburg-Bremen and its claims of German ecclesiastical hegemony in Scandinavia.[282] His student Sture Bolin was more sympathetic, but agreed that Adam's history was 'permeated with moralising tendency and strong partisanship'. The text had to be 'confronted with historical reality'; a historical reality in which Danish royal policy, from the tenth century onwards, was

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[281] Leuschner, 'Adam von Bremen', p. 48: 'Durch vorsichtiges reifes Urteil, durch psychologisches Verständnis für Menschen und Völker, durch nüchterne und Forschungsgebundene Wahrheitsliebe [erhebt sich Adams Werk] hoch über die Reihe der Bistums- und Klostergeschichten des 11. Jhs'; based on Bernhard Schmeidler's entry on Adam in Wattenbach and Holtzmann, ed., *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, pp. 566–7.

[282] The older Lauritz Weibull could be openly hostile towards Germans and German scholarship in general: for example, writing in 1946 on the German dominance of the historiography of the Baltic crusades in the twelfth century: 'German historical scholarship was, when it still existed, devoid of inhibitions, and marched like German armies, occupying [the area]. Such was its nature': *NH* II, 418. In context, the attitude is fully understandable; given Weibull's influence on later generations of Swedish and Danish historians, and how dependent his historical methodology was on an earlier generation of German scholars, it is nonetheless worth pointing out.

'characterised by opposition to Germany'.[283] In the post-war period, studies less interested in constructing a historical reality, but rather in an analysis of Adam's opinions and tendencies for their own sake, began to appear. The young Dane Aage Trommer (who has since mostly worked on twentieth-century history) analysed *Komposition und Tendenz* in Adam's history in 1957, setting an important precedent for taking into account the circumstances of Adam and his diocese at the time of composition in order to understand his sympathies and antipathies.[284] In 1963 Rudolf Buchner carefully attempted a definition of Adam's political *Vorstellungswelt*.[285] In 1988 Gerhard Theuerkauf considered Adam's Christian ideals, and pointed out his emphasis on Christian unity, extrovert religiosity, and remarkably nuanced view of the pagan Others.[286] Most important in recent German scholarship has been a series of studies published by Hans-Werner Goetz and his students, taking as their starting point Goetz's notion of medieval 'imaginations' about time and history. Goetz has made a distinction between *Geschichtsbild* and *Geschichtbewußtsein*, 'the image of history' and 'the consciousness of history'. The former implies straightforward remembrance of the past (whether accurate or not) whereas the latter assumes the 'topicality' of the past, and is expressed through the 'construction' of history by medieval historians, like Adam. By semantic analysis, one can uncover the agenda of a historical text, or see how its author takes sides and implies a particular opinion on contemporary events. This is a theoretically sophisticated approach, but its practitioners risk getting caught in a textual trap, which in the context of the present thesis, concerned to a large degree with the material reality of the Christianisation process, is particularly problematic. The benefits, however, are great: most importantly, Goetz and his students have put Adam into a context of eleventh-century German history-writing that is often forgotten in Scandinavian scholarship. In general, their investigations can be said to

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[283] Bolin, *Om Nordens äldsta historieforskning*, pp. 29–30.

[284] Trommer, 'Komposition und Tendenz'.

[285] Buchner, 'Die politische Vorstellungswelt Adams von Bremen'.

[286] Theuerkauf, 'Die Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte'.

have resulted in a realignment with the more skeptical tendencies of Scandinavian historians.[287]

First, it will be necessary to take on two commonly made assertions about Adam's opinions and ideals. First: that Adam was anti-English, and systematically attempted to suppress information about English missions to Scandinavia. Second: that Adam was anti-Gregorian, and wrote as a conservative representative of the imperial German church in reaction to contemporary currents of ecclesiastical reform. Both these assertions, I will argue, are false, or at least unfair assumptions without a basis in internal evidence. The notion that Adam wrote in opposition to English churchmen is something of an *idée fixe* among Scandinavian historians, and Swedish historians in particular, repeatedly put forward, seldom challenged. Lauritz Weibull claimed that Adam was 'fundamentally antipathetic' to 'Anglo-Saxon cultural influence'.[288] His brother Curt Weibull claimed that Adam's (as Weibull alleged) 'heavy distortion' of Danish history was a 'weapon' in Hamburg-Bremen's 'battle' against the Anglo-Saxon church, which he regarded with 'scarcely concealed aversion'.[289] According to a more recent publication 'Adam's attitude to the competing English mission is quite clear. He concealed or minimised any efforts from that direction. His negative description of Sven Forkbeard and Cnut the Great [sic] was due to their "English" style of government'.[290] To another contemporary

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[287] See generally Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein* (in particular pp. 120–1 and 259–66 on episcopal and abbatial chronicles), and more specifically on Adam, id., 'Constructing the Past'. See also Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde*, pp. 30–137 and Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden*, pp. 251–317.

[288] L. Weibull, *NH* II, 7.

[289] C. Weibull, *Källkritik och historia*, p. 100.

[290] M. Cinthio, *De första stadsborna*, p. 25 (somewhat misleadingly referencing Hallencreutz, 'Adam, Sverige och trosskiftet'): 'Adams inställning till den konkurrerande engelska missionen är mycket tydlig. Insatser från det hållet har han förtigit eller förklenat. Hans negativa beskrivning av Sven Tveskägg och Knut den Store berodde på deras "engelska" styre'. It should be noted that Adam's account of Cnut the Great is not particularly negative at all: he was prepared to criticise some of his actions (notably in the context of the death of St Olav of Norway), but his attitude was mostly positive: Adam, *Gesta* III:52–66 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 112–26; transl. Tschan, pp. 91–101).

scholar, 'Adam's idea of Christianity was strict. It had to come from Hamburg-Bremen'.[291] At times, such pronouncements been accompanied by more or less pronounced anti-German sentiment: the Germans, and Hanseatic mercenaries in particular, are the traditional villains in the medieval history of the three Scandinavian kingdoms.[292] A related idea is the view of the conversion process as driven by a kind of Anglo-German missionary competition. This seems misguided: most importantly, Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman churchmen in Scandinavia can at no point be shown to have been part of a coherent missionary initiative from any English institution. Their interests in the budding Scandinavian churches were of a different kind: no archbishop of Canterbury or York ever claimed metropolitan authority in Scandinavia, whereas the very existence of the archbishopric of Hamburg was justified largely with such claims. When Unwan or Adalbert were upset about bishops with English affiliations encroaching on their territory, it was not because these bishops were representatives of an adversarial English institution, but rather because they did not recognise Hamburg-Bremen's authority. In fact, even as seemingly balanced and pertinent an observation as this one, by Kjell Kumlien, is problematic:

> In twentieth-century historiography, under the influence of conflict between [the United Kingdom] and Germany, the competition (which actually existed) between Canterbury-York and Hamburg-Bremen has often been emphasised. But this aspect must not be anachronistically exaggerated. The

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[291] Christiansen, *The Norsemen in the Viking Age*, p. 126.

[292] The rhetoric of national liberation which often seems to accompany scholarly descriptions of the papacy's termination of Hamburg-Bremen's Scandinavian metropolitanate in 1103/4 is noteworthy, beginning with Saxo Grammaticus: see below in chapter four, p. 169–70. Again, Lauritz Weibull is worth quoting, writing in a volume commemorating the octocentenary of the completion of St Lawrence's cathedral, Lund, in 1945: 'The foreigners, the archbishops by the Weser and their emissaries, had never been anything other than foreigners' ('De främmande, ärkebiskoparna vid Weser och deras emissarier, hade aldrig varit annat än främmande': 'Skånes kyrka', p. 173). For Weibull, a Swedish liberal with strong Danish connections, the parallels between German dominance in Denmark past and present would have been all too obvious.

preaching of the Gospel to the wild north was an urgent undertaking for the whole Christian world; the mission was not conditioned by nationality, in the sense of a later age. This was not a point of contention; that, rather, was organisational. What Adalbert, the most brilliant representative of the Bremen mission, strove towards was the recognition of the *jurisdiction* of Hamburg's archiepiscopate in Scandinavia.[293]

Hamburg-Bremen and 'Canterbury-York' cannot be juxtaposed like this. The contribution of English religious men and women to the language, institutions, and practices of medieval Scandinavian Christianity was undoubtedly very important indeed, but, again, it was not the result of a concerted, expansive institutional effort.[294]

Adam only really refers to the activities of English churchmen in Scandinavia as a general topic once, when discussing the conversion of King Olav Tryggvason of Norway (995–1000). Adam has first related that, according to tradition, Olav had been baptised by Danish clerics with ties to Hamburg Bremen. However,

> Others say that of old and at this time certain bishops and priests of England left their home for the sake of doing [evangelising] work and that they baptized [Olav] and others ... If this is true, the mother church at Hamburg

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[293] Kumlien, 'Sveriges kristnande i slutskedet', pp. 262–3: 'I 1900-talets historiska forskning, som ju arbetade under intryck av motsättningen mellan England och Tyskland, har man gärna framhävt konkurrensen (som faktiskt existerade) mellan Canterbury-York och Hamburg-Bremen. Men synpunkten får inte anakronistiskt överdrivas. Evangelisk förkunnelse i det vilda Norden var en angelägen uppgift för hela den kristna världen, missionen var icke i en senare tids mening nationellt betingad. Härom kunde man enas men inte lika lätt om det organisatoriska. Vad ärkebiskop Adalbert, den bremensiska missionens mest lysande representant, främst eftersträvade var att få det hamburgska ärkestiftets *jurisdiktion* erkänd i Norden'.

[294] See Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' for an excellent overview in English of this contribution. For a comparison between the English and German mission coming to the same conclusion as above, see Nyberg, *Die Kirche in Skandinavien*, pp. 76–8.

did not, I say, look askance even at strangers if they bestowed grace upon her children, saying with the apostle: some preach 'out of envy and contention; but some also for good will' and love. 'But what then? So, that by all means, whether by occasion, or by truth, Christ be preached; and', he says, 'in this also I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice'.[295]

Of course, there is no denying the tension here: the baptism of a Scandinavian monarch was a prestigious achievement indeed, and the highly artificial incorporation of Norway into Hamburg-Bremen's legateship (in 1053) needed justification.[296] There are nonetheless indications that Adam actually meant what he wrote: he did, after all, mention the English missionaries, and continued to do so at other places in the *Gesta*. His assessment of them was overwhelmingly positive. Of the eleven bishops who came into Scandinavia from England Adam mentioned by name, only one was spoken of in critical terms: Henry of Lund (1060–66), who exploded from over-eating.[297] Henry had been a bishop in the Orkneys, and the treasurer of Cnut the Great in England – and, it should be added, is nowhere said to have been an Englishman.[298] Adam also spoke highly of many of the other English

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[295] Adam, *Gesta* II:37 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 98; transl. Tschan, p. 80): 'Alii dicunt olim et tunc ab Anglia quosdam episcopos vel presbyteros euangelizandi gratia egressos a domo, ab eisque Olaph baptizatum et ceteros ... Si hoc verum est, non invidet, inquam, mater Hammaburgensis ecclesia, si filiis suis benefecerint etiam extranei, dicens cum apostolo: "Quidam predicant per invidiam et contentionem, quidam autem propter bonam voluntatem et karitatem. Quid enim? Dum omnimodo sive per occasionem, sive per veritatem Christus annuntietur, et hin hoc", inquit "gaudeo et gaudebo"' (Phil. I:15 and 18). It is noteworthy that, in book four, the baptism of Olav is directly attributed to one of the English bishops, without any qualifications: ibid. IV:34 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 268; transl. Tschan, p. 214). For the problems of extrapolating an internally consistent world-view from the *Gesta*, in particular with respect of the relation of book four to the rest of the work, see below, pp. 131–5.

[296] On this subject, see below, p. 139.

[297] Adam, *Gesta* IV:8 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 235–6; transl. Tschan, pp. 191–2).

[298] The well-known case of Bishop Osmund, who claimed to be archbishop of Sweden, probably in the early 1050s, and was buried in Ely cathedral (*Liber Eliensis* XCIX: ed. Blake, pp. 168–9), must also be mentioned. It is possible that Osmund was English by origin, but Adam did at no point describe him as such. Osmund has played a very prominent part in Swedish historiography,

missionaries, praising their daring and wisdom. By contrast, he could be highly critical of Hamburg-Bremen's own appointees, at least one of whom suffered the same humiliating fate as Henry.[299] His evaluation of the contemporary English church was positive, and he praised William the Conqueror for his monastic and clerical reforms.[300] When Archbishop Unwan had the English bishop Gerbrand, brought over to Denmark by Cnut the Great, arrested and forcibly subjected to Bremen, Adam's comments make it clear that the archbishop's actions did not reflect well on Hamburg-Bremen.[301] Most important is, of course, that Adam never set out to write a balanced account of the Christianisation of Scandinavia. With that in mind, chiding him for giving more attention to German missionaries than their English colleagues seems unfair.

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sometimes portrayed as a representative of Hildebrandine reform, sometimes as an anti-imperialist, sometimes as a representative of English or even Russian-Orthodox religious influence (see for example Schmid, *Sveriges kristnande*, pp. 61–7; Hallencreutz, 'De berättande källorna', pp. 123–4; id., *Adam Bremensis and Sueonia*, p. 26; Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*, pp. 111–17). According to Adam, Osmund had attempted to curry favour first in Bremen, then in Rome, and when he failed in both places managed to be consecrated by 'some archbishop of Poland' ('quodam archiepiscopus Polaniae'). Adam was remarkably hostile towards Osmund: he called him *acephalus* (a fancy piece of ecclesiastical invective from Isidore of Seville, which can be taken to mean simply 'heretic': Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* VIII:5:66 (ed. Lindsay); see also Maccoull, 'Isidore and the Akephaloi') and a *girovagus* (Adam, *Gesta* III:15: ed. Schmeidler, pp. 155–6; transl. Tschan, pp. 125–6). There can be no doubt that Osmund had seriously offended Hamburg-Bremen, and the accusations that Adam hurled towards him were probably exaggerated, if not downright slander. The inference that he was therefore a representative of some 'rival' missionary enterprise seems disingenuous, however. He seriously threatened Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen's metropolitan authority, but not by virtue of being English, or Polish, or a 'reform-bishop'. That he would have acted as a papal (anti-Hamburg-Bremen) representative seems particularly unlikely, given both Adam's few biographical details, and the strong sense of agreement between the papacy and Adalbert in the early 1050s: see below, pp. 140–1.

[299] Adam, *Gesta* IV:8 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 235–6; transl. Tschan, pp. 191–2).

[300] Ibid. III:52 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 196–7; transl. Tschan, pp. 158–9).

[301] Ibid. II:55 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 116; transl. Tschan, p. 93).

Compared to Adam's alleged anti-Englishness, accusations of anti-Gregorianism are perhaps easier to understand: Adam's metropolitan, the dedicatee of his *Gesta*, was Archbishop Liemar, often seen as one of the German bishops most loyal to the king in the so-called investiture controversy; who spoke up against what he saw as excessive papal claims to authority at an early stage; who later commissioned, together with Bishop Benno of Osnabrück, the *Liber de controversia inter Hildebrandum et Heinricum imperatorem*.[302] Given the complex and rapid development of the disagreements between Gregory VII, King Henry IV, and the German episcopate in the 1070s, and the vast literature on the subject, the allegation of anti-Gregorianism is nonetheless more difficult to disprove or elucidate.[303] The narrative of Liemar's involvement with the Gregorian papacy is therefore worth summarising. Its chronology and ups and downs are connected to the relations between Henry IV and the pope in the same period, but not quite congruent.[304]

The disagreement began almost two years into Liemar's archiepiscopate, at the royal Easter court of 1074 in Bamberg, in the presence of two papal legates, Gerald of Ostia and Hubert of Palestrina, who had been sent to investigate the loyalties of German noblemen and bishops. Liemar had been travelling with the royal court since he was thrown out of Bremen in the uprising of the Saxon nobility in the summer of 1073. Bamberg cathedral was in a turbulent state: the canons had revolted against the bishop, Hermann, and demanded his resignation on grounds of simony.[305] They had the support of much of the German episcopate, but Bishop

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[302] By Wido of Osnabrück, surviving only in excerpts: ed. de Heinemann II, 461–70.

[303] For a conveniently straightforward account of the relations between Gregory and Henry, see Struve, 'Gregor VII.'; for the German episcopate, see for example Fleckenstein, 'Heinrich IV. und der deutsche Episkopat' and ibid., 'Hofkapelle und Reichsepiskopat unter Heinrich IV.'

[304] See for example, Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde*, pp. 56–64, to an extent following Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*, pp. 49–104, whose opinions on the matter differ considerably from my own. For general accounts of Liemar's career, see Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe*, pp. 98-120 and the entry by Karl Reinecke in Weinfurter and Engels, ed., *Series episcoporum*, V:2, pp. 34–7.

[305] Lampert of Hersfeld ascribed the resurfacing allegations against Hermann to his decision to forcibly replace the collegiate of canons in the church of St James in Bamberg with monks, much to

Hermann was close to the king. Liemar nonetheless took the opportunity – as he would again in the ensuing years – to make the argument public, to clarify grounds of disagreement, to draw battle lines, by refusing the baptismal chrism prepared by Bishop Hermann. It was through this demonstrative denunciation of a simoniac that Liemar's quarrel with the reform papacy began; an irony, perhaps, but hardly surprising: in the 1070s Gregory VII and the German episcopate disagreed more on matters of basic loyalty and obedience than the 'reform' principles which came to dominate later polemics.[306] Hermann the simoniac had been an ongoing concern of the papacy's for years, but mostly in its good books after a repentant visit to Alexander II in 1070 in the company of the most powerful German ecclesiastical princes at the time, Archbishops Siegfried of Mainz and Anno of Cologne. When accusations were renewed in 1074 Gregory had, in March, asked Hermann to answer the charges against him to his legates a week after the Easter court; Hermann answered that this would be impossible, but claimed he would not only explain himself at a later stage, but send an embassy to Rome, and himself embark on a pilgrimage to Compostela. Gregory seems to have been appeased.[307]

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the displeasure of the local secular clergy: Lampert, *Annales*, s. a. 1075, ed. and transl. Schmidt and Fritz, pp. 262–75; Lampert, however, either appears to have confused or manipulated the chronology of the events, and claimed Gregory had suspended Hermann already before Easter 1074: *Annales*, s. a. 1074, ibid., p. 250.

[306] This is by no means to imply that Gregory VII was somehow uninterested in church reform in the 1070s, only that many of the points of contention that would crystallise in ensuing years, culminating in the concordat of Worms in 1122, were not yet on the agenda: particularly notable is the papal case against royal investiture of bishops, which was of no discernable significance before 1078 (see importantly R. Schieffer, *Die Entstehung des päpstlichen Investiturverbots*, in particular pp. 108–52; and, more recently, Englberger, *Gregor VII. und die Investiturfrage*). The Gregorian campaign against simony and clerical marriage was certainly intense, but not the kind of thing bishops would publicly disagree with at this stage: Robinson, '"Periculosus homo"', pp. 130–1.

[307] By June 1074, an intervention on Hermann's behalf by Bishop Hermann of Metz seems to have convinced Gregory entirely (*Registrum* I:84, ed. Caspar, pp. 119–20); in general on the debacle at Bamberg in 1074, see Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 110–14; R. Schieffer, '*Spirituales latrones*', pp. 22–41.

Relations between Liemar and Rome soured further in the ensuing weeks: the court left Bamberg for Nuremberg, where the papal legates approached Liemar and Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz separately, and demanded they organise a general synod to ensure the German episcopate's commitment to the papal cause. They refused, and Liemar was asked to report in Rome on St Andrew's day (30 November). He did not turn up, and Gregory wrote to him 12 December, rebuked him severely, and summoned him to Rome for the Lent synod in February. Having received the papal letter from some *vilisimus clericus* of the abbot of Fulda, Liemar, back in Bremen, wrote to Hezilo of Hildesheim, and complained bitterly of his predicament. He was in ill health, unable to travel at all, and yet this dangerous man, *periculosus homo*, thought he could order bishops around as if they were his bailiffs (*villici*).[308] Whether this ever came to Gregory's attention is not known, but when Liemar failed to turn up in Rome he was summarily excommunicated and suspended (three other German bishops were suspended with him, including the no-longer favoured Hermann of Bamberg).[309] Eventually, probably in the spring or early summer of 1075, Liemar managed the journey to Rome, in the company of three clerics – Widukind of Cologne, the provost Wezilo of Halberstadt, and Meinhard of Bamberg (*illius regni philosophi*, Bonizo of Sutri called them) – and his excommunication was lifted.[310] Later in the summer the next major Saxon uprising was defeated at the battle of Homburg 9 July; Liemar helped negotiate the peace at Gerstungen in October, greatly to the king's and his own advantage.

In 1076, the year when the conflict between Henry IV and Gregory finally broke out with full force, and the king managed to get the overwhelming majority of the

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[308] Erdmann and Fickermann, ed., *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, pp. 33–5.

[309] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II:52a, ed. Caspar, p. 196; transl. Cowdrey, p. 145.

[310] Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* IX (ed. Dümmler, *Libelli de lite* I, 616; transl. Robinson, *The Papal Reform*, p. 254). Wezilo and Meinhard later reached episcopal office; of Mainz and Würzburg respectively. On Liemar's journey to Rome and its significance, see Erdmann, *Studien zur Briefliteratur*, pp. 265–70. Doubts have been expressed about the date of Liemar's journey to Rome: Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*, pp. 74–80. I remain convinced, however, of the argument in favour of the spring or summer of 1075, as best put by Erdmann, *Studien zur Briefliteratur*, pp. 265–70.

German episcopate to take a stand on his side, Liemar's involvement is unclear. At the famous court of Worms 24 January, when the king and twenty-six bishops condemned 'Brother Hildebrand', and declared his election invalid, Liemar was not present, unlike subsequently staunch Gregorians such as Siegfried of Mainz or Hermann of Metz (even if some, such as Burchard of Halberstadt, imprisoned after the battle of Homburg, and on his way into exile in Hungary, were clearly forced to sign).[311] When Henry's success at Worms proved extremely short-lived, and he attempted to rally the episcopate to his side again, repeatedly over the course of the spring and summer, Liemar's actions are unknown. Conflict had again broken out in Saxony, and Liemar was not absent from court: his name appears in a royal charter issued at Aachen 21 April, in the company of Hildolf of Cologne, Rupert of Bamberg, Eberhard of Naumburg, and William of Utrecht.[312] The king had celebrated Easter at Utrecht, the scene of a series anti-papal manifestations which pro-Gregorian chroniclers would come to recall with horror, and was on his way to Worms for a Whitsuntide council. Liemar, like Hildolf, Rupert, and Eberhard, appears to have joined the court on the way from Utrecht to Aachen: at least if one is to believe Hugh of Flavigny, William of Utrecht had been the only bishop willing to do the king's bidding at Easter, and others (Hugh named only Pibo of Toul and Theoderic of Verdun) had left in a flurry overnight when the king's intentions became clear.[313] Liemar was presumably present at Worms at Whitsun (15 May),

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[311] Georg Dehio speculated that Liemar would have found the proceedings *unselig*, 'unfortunate' (*Geschichte* II, 8). As noted by Glaeske (*Die Erzbischöfe*, pp. 107–8), this is perfectly possible, but remains speculation: there may have been other, practical reasons for his absence. According to Josef Fleckenstein, however, most of the bishops absent at Worms can be assumed to have taken the opportunity to distance themselves from the royal course of action: 'Heinrich IV. und der deutsche Episkopat', p. 232.

[312] Gawlik and von Gladiss, ed., *Heinrici IV diplomata*, no. 283.

[313] Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, s. a. 1080 [sic] (ed. Pertz, p. 458); Bishop William died soon thereafter (27 May), and the cathedral of Utrecht burned down. Anti-Henrician chroniclers did not hesitate to connect the incidents to whatever had happened at Utrecht at Easter: Bruno, *Saxonicum bellum* LXXIV (ed. and transl. Schmale, pp. 316–9); Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, s. a. 1076 (ed. and transl. Schmidt, pp. 352–3); Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, s. a. 1076 (ed. Robinson, *Die Chroniken*; p. 242, transl. id., *Eleventh-Century Germany*, p. 147); Paul of Bernried, *Vita Gregorii*

but the well-attended council took no action against Gregory.[314] 29 June Liemar was again at court, in Mainz, together with a large part of the German episcopate, reconvened by Henry to in a new attempt to have Gregory excommunicated. According to Berthold of Reichenau, a renewed statement of excommunication was issued; but it is clear from both Berthold and Lampert of Hersfeld's relatively detailed accounts that the Mainz synod was chaotic and did little to strengthen Henry's position.[315] Liemar's part in the proceedings remains unclear: it appears that most German bishops avoided pledging themselves fully to either pope or king.[316]

In January 1077, Liemar was party to the negotiations at Canossa. This undoubtedly made an impression on him, as it must have on all present, but quite which impression is impossible to tell, particularly given quite how uncertain and contentious it is what actually happened, and what the results were.[317] Did Canossa make Gregory seem more or less dangerous? According to Lampert of Hersfeld, warming to the king in the last few pages of his Annals, and unaware of the bad turn the conflict was to take again in the near future, Henry's reconciliation with Rome

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VII LXXX (ed. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum vitae* I, 521–2; transl. Robinson, *The Papal Reform*, pp. 323–5). According to Bruno, Lampert, and Paul William insulted and falsely accused the pope of all kinds of iniquities during Easter mass itself. Their accounts seem to prefigure the rather more fanciful perversities attributed to King Henry in a liturgical context by later polemicists, such as the Christmas vigil described by Gerhoh of Reichersberg in *De investigatione Anti-Christi* XVII (ed. Sackur III, 324). For a clarification of the conflicting accounts and chronologies of these events see Robinson, *Henry IV*, pp. 149–52 and van de Kieft, 'Bisschop Willem en de Utrechtse synode van 1076', which includes a tentative rehabilitation of the much-maligned Bishop William.

[314] Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, s. a. 1076 (ed. Robinson, *Die Chroniken*, pp. 242–3; transl. id., *Eleventh-Century Germany*, pp. 147–8); Lampert, *Annales*, s. a. 1076 (ed. and transl. Schmidt, pp. 360–1).

[315] Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, s. a. 1076 (ed. Robinson, *Die Chroniken*, pp. 243–7; transl. id., *Eleventh-Century Germany*, pp. 148–52); Lampert, *Annales*, s. a. 1076 (ed. and transl. Schmidt, pp. 360–3).

[316] Fleckenstein, 'Heinrich IV. und der deutsche Episkopat', pp. 233–4.

[317] For a couple of recent examples, see Reuter, 'Contextualising Canossa' and Fried, 'Der Pakt von Canossa'; or for a more conventional appraisal: Weinfurter, *Canossa*.

allowed Liemar a closer relationship with the king.[318] In 1080, when Henry was yet again threatened by the rebellious Saxon aristocracy, he sent Liemar and Bishop Rupert of Bamberg to Rome to request the excommunication of the appointed anti-king, Rudolf of Rheinfelden. The request was not granted, and the two bishops were not even allowed access to the pope. Henry complained in the following year of how dishonourably his embassy had been treated; his second excommunication had followed shortly after Liemar and Rupert's Roman fiasco, and Gregory, after years of hesitation, began to associate himself unreservedly with the king's Saxon opponents. 25 June 1080 Liemar was one of the twenty-eight episcopal signatories to the decree demanding the resignation of Pope Gregory issued by the synod of Brixen. In the following decades there is no doubting the consistency of Liemar's loyalty to the Henrician cause.[319]

The key to understanding episcopal action in Germany in the 1070s is to expect inconsistency: statistically, unwavering loyalty to either pope or king was an anomaly. Gregory's radicalism widened the scope of disagreement so suddenly that a considered response was impossible. The result was a curious mixture of extremism and flexibility among the bishops. It was impossible to predict how a particular bishop would or should have reacted to the conflict based on his location, circumstances, and basic allegiances (to his cathedral chapter, to the surrounding aristocracy, to the township): Gregorianism and anti-Gregorianism unsettled pragmatic concerns both in the long and short terms. With this in mind, Liemar's expression of personal antipathy towards Gregory in his letter to Hezilo of Hildesheim becomes more difficult to interpret: it is not sufficient evidence to argue that he supported the anti-Gregorian side consistently from the beginning of the

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[318] *Annales*, s. a. 1077 (ed. and transl. Schmidt, pp. 418–19).

[319] This, a decisive rallying around the king, was a general tendency in the German episcopate in the 1080s: Fleckenstein, 'Heinrich IV. und der deutsche Episkopat', pp. 235–6. It is worth noting, that the charters where the king's affection for Liemar is emphasised, as for 'no other German bishop' (Scior, *Das eigene und das Fremde*, p. 63), all post-date 1080 (DD H. IV. 351 and 377: ed. Gladiss, pp. 463–4 and 502–3).

conflict. In fact, there are good reasons to assume that he did not: his reconciliation with the pope after the brief excommunication in 1075, and his absence from the anti-Gregorian synods of 1076 are among them. He had a well-founded grievance against the rebellious Saxon aristocracy, but probably saw no reason to connect them with Rome, at least not before 1080.[320] In the anti-Henrician literature, he was never portrayed as a trouble-maker or as particularly representative of the anti-papal point of view. On the contrary: Lampert of Hersfeld and Bonizo of Sutri had only positive words for him.[321] Even as late as 1091, an anonymous poet had Urban II admit that Liemar of Bremen was a man to be taken seriously.[322] He was never spoken of in the same terms as, say, William of Utrecht, Hildolf of Cologne, or other noted anti-Gregorian bishops.[323] In most of his appearances in the conflicts of the 1070s he was expected to act as a negotiator or intermediary.[324] It should also be stressed that he remains a fairly obscure figure, and there are large gaps in his biography. Some of his associates, whose lives and thoughts are better-known, can, at least, give plausible analogies to his apparent middle-way position: the hesitant Benno of Osnabrück; the politically careful Hezilo of Hildesheim; Meinhard, Liemar's friend

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[320] Karl Leyser repeatedly stressed that the conjunction between the Gregorian debacle and the Saxon uprising was 'fortuitous': 'Gregory VII and the Saxons' (quotation from p. 69); id., 'The Crisis of Medieval Germany'.

[321] Lampert, *Annales*, s. a. 1072 (ed. and transl. Schmidt, pp. 160–1): (on Liemar's election to the archiepiscopal office) *optimae spei iuvenis et omnium liberalium artium peritia adprime insignis*; 'a young man with the greatest prospects, and exceptionally distinguished in his knowledge of all liberal arts'. Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* VII (ed. Dümmler, *Libelli de lite* I, 602; transl. Robinson, p. 222): *vir eloquentissimus, et liberalibus studiis adprime eruditus*; 'a most eloquent man, exceptionally learned in liberal studies'.

[322] *Altercatio inter Urbanum et Clementem*, l. 45 (ed. Sackur, p. 171): *Eligo Bremensem, qui non levitate movetur.*

[323] For example, Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, ed. and transl. Schmidt, pp. 346–7 on William; ibid., pp. 342–3 on Hildolf.

[324] Particularly apparent in Lampert of Hersfeld: *Annales*, s. a. 1075 (ed. and transl. Schmidt, pp. 306–7 and 314–17).

from the Bamberg cathedral chapter, critical yet supportive of the king.[325] At times, they exhibit the 'self-doubt, pangs of conscience and self-criticism' which Karl Leyser thought typical of the Salian era; at other times, they appear quite confident in their avoidance of partisanship.[326] If one must label or classify them, the most convincing group would probably be the 'courtly' factions at some eleventh-century cathedral chapters identified by Stephen Jaeger.[327] To say, as some have done, that Liemar (or Benno, or Hezilo) was anti-Gregorian, but then qualify it by saying that he was, after all, pro-reform, is also inadequate: to most of his contemporaries, this pairing of ideological opposites would have seemed incomprehensible.[328] No bishop (or king) in their right mind would have come out as 'anti-reform'. Henry IV's clerical helpers thought *they* were the ones working for the betterment of the church. For both sides of the conflict, the road to Canossa and beyond was paved with good intentions.

The problem of gauging Adam's opinions in the controversies surrounding Pope Gregory also hinges on two significant points of source-critical contention: the date of composition of the *Gesta*, and the date of the death of King Sven Estridsen of Denmark. In fact, the two are often thought to be roughly identical. Adam wrote, at several points in his narrative, of King Sven as still alive, notably in II:26, where he

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[325] Meinhard called Liemar his 'one dear friend', *dulcis amicus unice*, in a letter from 1057×1072: Erdmann and Fickermann, ed., *Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, p. 205. On Meinhard, see Erdmann, *Studien zur Briefliteratur*, pp. 16–116; as with Liemar, pro-Gregorians such as Bernold of Constance were full of praise for Meinhard: ibid., p. 116. For a recent analysis of Meinhard's attitude to the king, and his advisers in particular, as expressed in his extensive surviving correspondence, see Zey. 'Vormünder und Berater Heinrichs IV.'. On Hezilo, see Erdmann, *Studien zur Briefliteratur*, pp. 119–53. On Benno and other Westfalian bishops, see Vogtherr, 'Handlungsspielräume bischöflicher Parteinahme', of particular relevance for comparison with Liemar.

[326] Leyser, 'On the Eve of the First European Revolution', p. 8.

[327] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, in particular pp. 210–16 on Benno's activities at Hildesheim as *magister scholarum* under Bishop Azelinus (1044–54).

[328] Cf. for example Goez, 'Das Erzbistum Hamburg-Bremen im Investiturstreit', p. 53; Zey, 'Vormünder und Berater Heinrichs IV.', p. 122.

referred to the testimony of *Danorum rex, qui hodieque superest, Suein.*[329] This seems straightforward enough, but not many chapters later, in II:43, he referenced Sven as *diu memorandus rex Danorum* 'the long-to-be-remembered king of the Danes'; and in IV:25, he is *sepe recolendus*, 'oft to be recalled'.[330] It sounds, Bernhard Schmeidler wrote, as if Adam was speaking of a dead man, and it follows, Schmeidler suggested – and commentators since have usually agreed – that Sven's death occurred in the process of Adam's writing.[331] There are, however, problems with this argument.

Pro primo, it is uncertain when the king died: one tradition says April 1074, another 1076. In 1918 Schmeidler made an influential argument for 1074, and it is the date most commonly repeated.[332] Almost a century later, this kind of source criticism may seem unfashionable, and some historians would be content with letting conflicting information remain conflicting information.[333] Certainly, even the most competent scribes could easily confuse MLXXIV and MLXXVI. However, as is evident from the above summary account of the development of Archbishop Liemar's involvement in the Gregorian controversy in these years, the distinction is not a trivial one. It also strikes me and others that the case for the later date is quite strong.[334] Schmeidler based his argument primarily on Danish sources, and tried to demonstrate that they showed evidence of two independent traditions attributing the

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[329] Also II:28: 'qui nunc in Dania regnat, Suen'; ed. Schmeidler, pp. 86 and 87–8 respectively.

[330] Ed. Schmeidler, pp. 103 and 257.

[331] 'Das klingt, als wenn Adam von einem Verstorbenem spräche': Schmeidler, *Hamburg-Bremen und Nordost-Europa*, pp. 288–90; for too seldom-heeded arguments to the contrary, see Bolin, 'När avslutade mäster Adam Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum?' and Carlsson, 'Bernhard Schmeidlers Adamsforskningar'.

[332] Schmeidler, *Hamburg-Bremen und Nordost-Europa*, pp. 288–303.

[333] In fact, Schmeidler and his students were attacked for being methodologically out-of-touch already in his lifetime, and his passionate defence of detached and objective speculation in an age of (today often distasteful) high idealism is at times rather moving: id., *Über die Aufgaben und Pflichten der wissenschaftlichen Kritik*, from 1935.

[334] My conclusions here largely echo those of Bolin, *Om Nordens äldsta historieforskning*, pp. 124–33, and in part those of Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*, pp. 34–9.

king's death to 1074. [335] This part of his attempt does not convince, and he failed to counter most arguments in favour of 1076 effectively. These include Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon sources, and – most importantly – two letters to King Sven from

[335] The Danish tradition began with Aelnoth of Canterbury, writing in Odense in around 1122 (*Gesta Swenomagni*, ed. Gertz, p. 89), and the *Chronicon Roskildense* (ed. Gertz, *Scriptores minores* I, 23) from around 1140, and repeated in Danish annalistic material (Kroman, ed., *Danmarks middelalderlige annaler*, pp. 54, 83, 108, 162, 193, 225, 256, and 268; cf. however p. 16). Saxo Grammaticus mentioned no date for the king's death, but said he died some days before Bishop William of Odense (Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XI:9:1–9:5, ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg II, 30–3; in contradiction with the *Chronicon Roskildense*: Gertz, ed., *Scriptores minores*, p. 23), and Schmeidler claimed that an 'independent' source to the date of Bishop William's death could be used to corroborate Aelnoth and his followers on the death of King Sven: a notice in the *liber anniversarius* of Roskilde cathedral chapter, probably no earlier than the last quarter of the thirteenth century. This manuscript perished in the great Copenhagen fire in 1728, but excerpts were transcribed and rearranged by the physician and scientist Thomas Bartholin (1616–80); and another physician with historical interests, Cornelius Hamsfort the younger (1546–1627), cited the manuscript liberally. In a catalogue of the bishops of Roskilde, Hamsfort noted that Bishop William died 8 May 1074, *ut est in Calendario Roscildensi* (Langebek et al., ed., *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* VII, 155). This is only deceptively straightforward, however: Hamsfort used no quotation marks, and there is no way of telling if he took both the year and the date, or the date only, from the Roskilde *liber anniversarius*. Thus, this can hardly be considered an independent source: Hamsfort clearly knew a large number of sources to Denmark's medieval history – and Saxo, widely read after the *editio princeps* of 1514, doubtless well – and as his interests lay principally in chronological clarification (he never really tried his hand at narrative history) he could easily have inferred the year of the bishop's death from what he knew about King Sven from other sources (on Hamsfort, see Rørdam, *Monumenta historiæ Danicæ* I, 690–9; Paulli, 'Cornelius Hamsfort'). Bartholin (not cited by Schmeidler) did not include Bishop William's obituary as part of his transcription. He cited the manuscript on the matter elsewhere (in his *Collectanea ad Annales Ecclesiasticos Daniæ pertinentia*) under the year 1074, but did not – unlike in some other citations from the Roskilde *liber anniversarius* in the same work – quote the year in Roman numerals directly following the date. The same conclusions thus apply to him as to Hamsfort (see citations from Bartholin's manuscripts in the modern reconstructed edition of the *Liber daticus Roskildensis* by Alfred Otto, pp. 24–7 and 37; Otto accepted that the manuscript did probably not give a 1074 date for William's death, but still argued that King Sven died in that year: ibid., pp. 169–77).

Gregory VII, dating to 25 January and 17 April 1075.[336] In the first letter Gregory complained politely of how little he had heard of the king since his accession to the papacy, and informed him that the legates he had sent to assist him with his ecclesiastical policy had been forced to return because of the conflicts in the German kingdom. Most of this is repeated in the second letter, and Schmeidler was probably right to conclude that it implies that Gregory had received no formal reply to the first, but he did say that he had 'received a good report' about the king.[337] In fact, it seems virtually inconceivable that the pope would have been unaware of the king's death almost a full year before the second letter: Sven was an important ally – or at least a well-disposed contact – in Gregory's dealings with resentful German bishops and Saxon rebels, which constantly preoccupied him in 1074 and 1075. In the spring and summer of 1074, the two papal legates Gerald of Ostia and Hubert of Palestrina were in Germany to negotiate with the episcopate – perhaps the plan had been for

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[336] *Registrum* II:51 and II:75, ed. Caspar, pp. 192–4 and 237–8; transl. Cowdrey, *The Register*, pp 142–3 and 170–3. Icelandic historiography from the thirteenth century onwards favoured 1076: see principally Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*: 'Óláfs saga kyrra' V (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson III, 207; transl. Hollander, p. 666) and *Knýtlinga saga* XXV: ed. Bjarni Guðnason, *Danakonunga sögur*, p. 137; transl. Edwards and Hermann Pálsson, p. 49. Sven's death is recorded in versions D and E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under 1076 in *ASC* E (ed. Irvine, p. 91), and under 1077 in *ASC* D (ed. Cubbin, p. 88), where all events that occurred in 1070–7 are recorded a year in advance, that is under 1071–8. Schmeidler explained these entries as a simple mistake, and in fact saw evidence in favour of an earlier date in *ASC* 1075 E (ed. Irvine, p. 91; *ASC* 1076 D; ed. Cubbin, p. 87), where an unsuccessful raid on England by King Sven's son Cnut (later St Cnut, reigned 1080–6) and a certain Jarl Haakon is recorded soon after the rebellion of Earls Ralph and Roger against William the Conqueror. Schmeidler argued that Cnut would have gone to England as part of a larger raiding tour which he embarked on after the death of his father and the ensuing conflict with the eldest son Harald Hén (reigned 1076–80) recorded by Saxo and Aelnoth (Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XI:10:1–10:6, ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg II, 32–7; Aelnoth of Canterbury, *Gesta Swenomagni*, ed. Gertz, pp. 90–1). This seems inconsequential, however: the raid was part of a series of English expeditions undertaken by both Sven himself and his relatives in this period (*ASC* E 1069 and 1070: ed. Irvine, pp. 88–9).

[337] *Registrum* II:75 (ed. Caspar, p. 238; transl. Cowdrey, *The Register*, p. 271): 'Bonam enim famam de te accepimus'.

the same legates to visit Denmark.[338] They would have known if the king of Denmark was dead. Papal letters have often, at least until recent decades, been neglected as sources to northern European history in the early and even central middle ages. Perhaps such a tendency lies behind Schmeidler's decision not to engage in detail with the evidence of Gregory's letters, which – even if from a geographically distant source – are contemporary and precisely dated, and seem to clinch the argument in favour of 1076, at least to this reader.

Pro secundo, the inference that Sven died while Adam was writing is very shaky indeed. Given that Sven Estridsen by the mid-1070s was no longer a young man (Adam's age we know nothing about; Sven was born in 1018×28),[339] it does not seem unreasonable that Adam would have expected, or at least thought it likely, that they were never to meet again, and he could have referred to his memory preemptively: a morbid gesture today, perhaps, but not necessarily in the eleventh century. Even a more conventional formula such as *beatae memoriae*, of greater liturgical resonance, could be appended to the names of the still-living in this period, 'im Sinne einer für die Zukunft geltenden Aussage über das gesegnete Gedenken'.[340] In fact Adam might even not have been thinking about posthumous recollection at all: King Sven remains elusive, but there can be no doubt that he was a memorable character. One can thus only appeal to the king's death date to provide a *terminus ante quem* for Adam's *Gesta*. If this occurred in the spring of 1076, it would follow that Adam wrote at some point in the four-year period leading up to that date from the accession of Archbishop Liemar in May 1072. The *terminus post quem* could perhaps be made more precise by pinning down what exactly Adam meant by the passage, in his poetic epilogue to Liemar, where he refers to the archbishop's mediatory work, 'when strife / a third time swelled' – generally taken

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[338] Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 98, 112–14, and 455–6; see also above, pp. 114–16.

[339] Probably: Arup, 'Kong Svend 2.s biografi', pp. 63–70.

[340] Fichtenau, *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich*, p. 139; my sincere thanks to Levi Roach for pointing this out to me. The phenomenon was recognised already by Mabillon: *De re diplomatica*, pp. 538 and 601.

to mean one of the Saxon uprisings.[341] Here scholars, not surprisingly, disagree, and the reference – an echo from the Aeneid, at that – seems too vague for any confident conclusions. And there are reasons to be even more cautious.

Anyone who attempts to fix the date of Adam's text will both inevitably be bogged down in intricate philological detail, and find it necessary to question common assumptions about textual integrity and authorship. For one thing, Schmeidler's detailed reconstruction of the work's creation and subsequent reworking leaves, as shown by a number of critics, much to be desired. Most importantly, his argument that his so-called A recension represents an earlier, 'cleaner' version of the text, in particular in his witness A1, a manuscript now in Vienna from around 1200, has been conclusively upset by the criticisms of Sture Bolin and, most comprehensively, Anne K. G. Kristensen.[342] Schmeidler thought the Vienna manuscript derived from a dedicatory copy made for Liemar, and represented an early, official version of the text. This view is no longer tenable. Kristensen has also pointed out quite how divorced much of the manuscript transmission is from Adam's own environment: in fact, the majority of the manuscript witnesses are from a Danish context, and it is fairly clear that the *Gesta* (in several different versions) were being studied and reworked in Denmark already from the twelfth century.[343] It has been argued that Adam wrote the *Gesta* in some haste, and that the sometimes messy and sketchy text would indicate that it was written over a short period of time.[344] There are, however, several weighty counterarguments to this suggestion: for one thing, Adam relied on informants in a number of places, and made a research-trip of sorts to Denmark. In all likelihood, he also travelled for written sources: it seems implausible that Bremen, chaotic in the 1070s, had the library he needed. His reading seems

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[341] Adam, *Gesta*, epilogue (ed. Schmeidler, p. 282; transl. Schmeidler, p. 226): 'iam tercia prelia surgunt'; cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* XI, ll. 631–5.

[342] Adam, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, pp. vii–xxxiv; cf. Bolin, 'Kring Mäster Adams text'; Kristensen, *Studien zur Adam von Bremen*, pp. 11–56.

[343] Ibid., pp. 20–23 in particular.

[344] Schmeidler, *Hamburg-Bremen und Nordost-Europa,* p. 109; Trommer, 'Komposition und Tendenz', pp. 238 and 256; Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*, pp. 38–9.

relatively extensive, and includes some unusual texts, notably Tacitus's *Germania*. In fact, the sometimes unpolished state of the text can be used to argue for a long period of gestation.

In a manuscript culture, all texts, when viewed synchronically as the summa of their witnesses, excepting perhaps the sacred and the most revered, are unfixed and unfixable: works in progress. Yet, in Adam's case, the degree of variation is particularly high for the genre. This is most obvious in the scholia, the footnote-like asides, additions, and corrections to the main body of text which, following the deconstruction of Schmeidler's textual history, appear to have been present at every stage of the text's existence. Somewhere on the spectrum between commentary and marginalia, they appear throughout the work at varying intervals. Book four, the *Descriptio insularum aquilonis*, which was of particular appeal to Scandinavian scholars, medieval and early modern, has survived in more versions than the rest of the text, and is much more densely scholiated, in some cases apparently by someone with some Scandinavian local knowledge. Overall, some scholia are clearly by Adam, some not. Their function remains uncertain: are they to be interpreted as remains of the preparatory stage of a reworking of the text, or as a kind of running authorial commentary? Like Kristensen, I will leave such questions unanswered, but point to them as evidence for just how careful one must be to tease out of the text the opinions of one particular author at one particular stage in time, and as a reminder of the inevitable limitations of studying a modern critical edition. Thus, *pro tertio*, in no one particular form of Adam's *Gesta*, as they survive today, can the text be pinned down with sufficient chronological precision to be able to argue conclusively that it contains a coherent world-view which would have been accommodating to Liemar's (highly variable) position in the Gregorian debacle of the 1070s.

The argument above is inconclusive – deliberately: Adam's text fervently resists precise contextualisation, both in terms of form and content. Even Adam of Bremen the person is, in many ways, a scholarly construct: for all of his originality he hid himself from the reader. He gave away only two biographical facts: he was not from

Bremen, and he arrived there in 1066 or 1067. Other sources supply a bit more: he (in all likelihood) was *magister scolarum* at Bremen by 1069 and produced charters for the chapter.[345] His name was Adam (not just A., as he called himself in the *Gesta*).[346] It is apparent from even the most casual reading of his work that he had a good education, and took his work seriously. All else – when he died, where he was trained, where he was from, where he was when he wrote the *Gesta* – can be no more than informed guesswork.[347] Such uncertainty makes his world-view particularly malleable to the agendas of modern historians. Whether he agreed or not with his archbishop's opinion that Gregory VII was a dangerous man cannot be ascertained. Where Adam did mention the papacy, there is no indication of hostility. If anything, he appears to be harking back to a time of concord, a time when Henry III, Adalbert, and, say, Leo IX were in complete agreement about the roles of the emperor and the pope in western Christendom.[348] This is not a sign of any discernible partisanship: both Gregory's supporters and opponents used similar rhetorical strategies.[349] The care taken by Adam to balance imperial and papal prerogatives at various instances, his concern with staffs and *pallia*, could indicate some awareness of the tensions and conflicts of the 1070s (hardly surprising if he wrote the Gesta in the later part of the timeframe discussed above), but it must also be seen as part of Adam's effort to bolster the reputation of his archdiocese in a time of need (as discussed below): the twofold connection with Rome and Romanity, papal and imperial, lent Hamburg-Bremen prestige and justified its mission in a

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[345] Lappenberg, ed., *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, 97.

[346] Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica* XIV (ed. and transl. Stoob, p. 78–9).

[347] This applies also to the deduction in a later scholion, occurring only in a printed edition from 1595 (based on a lost manuscript), that Adam hailed *ex Germania superiori*, because he had corrupted certain words and names when he tried to adapt them to his own tongue: Adam, *Gesta*, schol. 151 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 270; transl. Tschan, p. 216).

[348] See below, pp. 140–1.

[349] Cf., for example, Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* V (ed. Dümmler, *Libelli de lite* I, 600–1; transl. Robinson, *The Papal Reform*, pp. 193–4) with Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV. imperatorem libri VII* VII:2 (ed. and transl. Seyffert, pp. 586–93). See also Gregory VII, *Registrum* I:19 (ed. Caspar, p. 32; transl. Cowdrey, *The Register*, p. 21–2).

world-historical and eschatological framework. The balances of these prerogatives are most pertinently expressed in a passage at the end of book three, when Adam concludes that, for all his faults, Adalbert's achievements were overwhelmingly positive:

> [The archbishop] prided himself on having only two masters, that is, the pope and the king ... This was evident in the fidelity which the man observed so completely towards each that he put nothing above the apostolic authority, contended that the ancient and honorable prerogatives of the Apostolic See must be preserved in their entirety, and held that its legates were to be received with the greatest respect. Of the regard in which he held the imperial majesty his bishopric gives proof. On this account especially was he destroyed, that neither the threat nor the blandishments of the princes could swerve him from his fidelity toward the king.[350]

One can, admittedly, read much into this, and an imaginative historian could make Adam a pro-Gregorian or an anti-Gregorian alike from these sentences. This ambiguity is important. Sture Bolin's claim that Adam's text was 'permeated with moralising tendency' was cited above. In relative terms, this does not seem fair. Certainly, there is a deep moralism at work throughout the *Gesta*, but it is rarely insistent, or even – by central-medieval standards – didactic. Rather, it takes the form of an acute awareness of moral dilemmas: disagreements and dissonances are exposed and developed but not always resolved. Also Adam's was the 'articulate inarticulacy' which (in the words of Timothy Reuter, paraphrasing Karl Leyser) characterised the Salian period.[351]

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[350] Adam, *Gesta* III:78 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 225; transl. Tschan, p. 184): '...pariter gloriatus se duos tantum habere dominos, hoc est papam et regem ... Apparuit hoc in fide viri, quam ita integram servavit utrisque, ut auctoritati apostolicae nihil preponens antiqui honoris privilegia sedi apostolicae contenderet integra servari debere eiusque legatos summo recipiendos amore censeret. Maiestatem vero imperatoriam quanti faceret, episcopatus eius testis est, ideo vel maxime destructus, quod a fidelitatis regis sui nec minis nec blandimentis principum rescindi potuit'.

[351] Reuter, 'Karl Leyser the Historian', p. xii–xiii.

A history such as Adam's does, of course, have a strong institutional aspect, and can be argued to express an institutional viewpoint of sorts. Still, even if one takes that to imply that the history would agree with the opinions of the institution's leader (there is no particular reason for this: it has been argued that Adam wrote the *Gesta* as a series of *exempla* to instruct Liemar about the achievements of his predecessors, and the pitfalls his position entailed), Liemar's attitude to Gregory VII in the period when Adam is likely to have written most of the *Gesta* was so ambiguous that anti-Gregorianism cannot, categorically, be assumed to have been a motivating factor behind any official self-portrayal, in charter- or history-form, from Bremen before 1076, or probably even 1080.[352] My argument here thus marks a sharp disagreement with scholars who have come to the conclusion that, by the time Adam was writing, 'the real adversary of the Hamburg-Bremen mission' was the papal reform movement; or indeed, in the most extreme form, that Adam was anti-Gregorian to the point of being prepared to caricature Rome and St Peter's as a pagan temple.[353] It is worth noting, in conclusion, that the retrospective bestowal of anti-Gregorian attitudes on Hamburg-Bremen archbishops prior to the breakdown of 1076 is in fact an old tradition: Benzo of Alba, in a self-aggrandising passage, put into Archbishop Adalbert's mouth an absurd speech denouncing Hildebrand and Alexander II as *biceps antichristus* – and this was supposed to have taken place at some point in the 1060s.[354]

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[352] Gerd Althoff, in 'Pragmatische Geschichtsschreibung und Krisen', p. 106, has claimed that Adam wrote the *Gesta* for the 'unambiguous' purpose of commiting Liemar to the *exempla* of his predecessors ('eindeutig in der Absicht, Liemar auf diese *exempla* zu verpflichten'); see also, to the same effect id., 'Causa scribendi', pp. 128–30. On the point that not all institutional history is, by definition, propaganda, see Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein*, p. 380.

[353] Hallencreutz, *Adam Bremensis and Sueonia*, pp. 22–7; Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*, pp. 257–97.

[354] Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV. imperatorem libri VII* III:18 (ed. and transl. Seyffert, pp. 322–3); this at a visit of Benzo's to the royal court during Henry IV's minority, allegedly in Quedlinburg, the date of which is uncertain – Benzo himself said 1063, but 1064 and 1065 have been suggested as more plausible – see the comments by Hans Seyffert to ibid., pp. 306–7, with references. Seyffert has

These considerations aside, what is the internal evidence for Adam's clerical ideals? There are some particular passages which deserve closer attention, but the subject is first worth approaching in very broad terms. It will be helpful here to think of the methodology developed by Hans-Werner Goetz mentioned above, and the ways in which the *construction* of a historical narrative exposes concerns about the author's present and future. It is worth noting that the usage of terms such as 'the construction of history' does not have to denote a particular epistemological standpoint. My argument is not about the *invention* of history, but about the ordering and progression of a narrative. Questions about an author's general reliability or tendentiousness are legitimate (even if conclusive answers are unlikely), and certainly of interest in the case of Adam, where scholarly opinion on the subject has been so markedly divided, Such questions are, however, not at stake in the following paragraphs.

Chronological progression and forward momentum in the *gesta episcoporum* genre is normally rather clear-cut: bishop follows bishop follows bishop.[355] This structure is complicated in Adam by two factors: first, by the great attention given to Archbishop Adalbert in book three, which stands out from the two previous books both in terms of literary sophistication (even if Stephen Jaeger's assertion that only in this part of the work did Adam rise 'from this bed of mediocrity which the genre ... had prepared for him' seems a little harsh) and in terms of models (classical, overwhelmingly) and objectives.[356] The second complicating factor is the fourth book, the *Descriptio insularum Aquilonis*, which does not fit into the *gesta episcoporum* genre at all, and has a partly separate transmission history from the rest of the work, as noted above. Nonetheless, and in part because of the unconventional

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also suggested that the whole episode may be pure invention by Benzo, whose imagination was 'almost delusional' (*fast wahnhaft*): ibid., p. 13–14. Cf. Adalbert's actual relations with Alexander II: below, p. 140–1.

[355] For an introduction, see Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, Gesta abbatum.*

[356] Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, p. 68. On Adam's debt to classical biography, and Sallust in particular, see Berschin, *Biographie end Epochenstil* IV, 211–16.

structure of the work, it is possible to distinguish within it two modes of historical progression and momentum working in counterpoint. The two stand in a relationship that may be paradoxical, but is not contradictory. As is clear from a number of asides scattered throughout the work, Adam is writing in distress: his history is in the elegiac mode, rueful and tragic, composed in the midst of civil war, with Hamburg *a paganis oppressa*, Bremen *clausa tyrannis*.[357] If Adam's opinions on the Gregorian papacy are, as I argued, unknown and unknowable, his negative opinion of the Saxon aristocrats who were rising against Henry IV is quite clear.[358] His history is also, however, salvational: it records the progression from darkness to light in the barbaric north. This is placed in a large-scale geographical and chronological framework, beginning not, as one might expect, with Willehad or Ansgar, but with Boniface: Germany itself is part of the process. Boniface is the first and the fundamental figure in a series of great missionaries who follow one another in book one. 'Like Paul the Apostle', Boniface 'excelled all others in the assiduity and zeal of his preaching', and organised the provinces of the *populi Teutonum* into dioceses, 'with the support of the authority of the Apostolic See'.[359] His career works, within the structure of the *Gesta*, as a template for the lives of the Hamburg-Bremen prelates that follow. Beginning with Boniface also establishes an institutional parallel between the archiepiscopal sees of Mainz and Hamburg: despite the overwhelming differences in terms of resources and material conditions, they both claimed a special place in imperial and papal history, and their archbishops held the prestigious title of papal vicar, as Adam emphasised repeatedly.[360] Adam's clerical ideal is thus, at the basis, Bonifatian. It should be stressed that saying this is only saying so much: the memory of Boniface took many guises, and Adam's picture differed considerably from, for example, that of his contemporary Otloh of St

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[357] Adam, *Gesta*, epilogue (ed. Schmeidler, p. 283).

[358] On Adam's view of the Saxon aristocracy, see Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde*, pp. 51–6. In general on eleventh-century German historians responding to crises, see Althoff, 'Pragmatische Geschichtsschreibung und Krisen'; on Adam, ibid., p. 106 and id., 'Causa scribendi', pp. 128–30.

[359] Adam, *Gesta*, I:10 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 11; transl. Tschan, pp. 12–13): 'omnes alios, uti Paulus apostolus, studio ac predicationis labore antevenit'.

[360] On Boniface and the papacy, see Noble, 'Boniface and the Roman Church'.

Emmeram, whose *Vita Bonifatii* focussed on monastic foundations and lamented the rapacity of bishops.[361]

It should also be stressed that, in most ways, Adam's clerical ideals are conventional: he abhorred simoniacs and married clergy, let slip the occasional misogynistic platitude; and, on the other hand, praised intelligence, keenness on reform and canonical life, respect for king and pope. What is lacking when Adam is in laudatory mode is an appreciation of the contemplative and introspective. His ideals tend instead toward the extrovert and are often remarkably physical: risk-taking and bodily exertion gain higher praise than intellectual endeavour, and the sharpest criticism is reserved for stay-at-homes and gluttons. At the end of book one, Adam directly addressed a potential audience of fictional bishops:

> [Ah], ye bishops who, sitting at home, make the short-lived pleasures of honor, of lucre, and of sleeping the first considerations of episcopal office!

They are contrasted with Archbishop Unni, who died (of illness) preaching to the Swedes in 936:

> Look back, I say, upon this man, poor and lowly in worldly respect but praiseworthy and a great priest of God. He who lately was rewarded with so noble an end gave posterity such an example that your indolence cannot be excused by any harsh condition of time and place. Undergoing such perils by sea and by land, he went among the fierce peoples of the north and with such zeal he discharged the ministry of his mission that he died at the confines of the earth, laying down his life for Christ.[362]

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[361] On Hamburg's papal vicariate, see for example Haarländer, 'Welcher Bonifatius soll es sein?', p. 360 on Otloh.

[362] Adam, *Gesta* I:63 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 60; transl. Tschan, p. 53): 'Eia vos episcopi, qui domi sedentes gloriae, lucri, ventris et somni breves delicias in primo episcopalis officii loco ponitis! Respicite, inquam, istum pauperem seculi et modicum, immo laudabilem magnumque sacerdotem

The passage points to one of the *causae scribendi* of the *Gesta*, and indicates that Adam was very much engaged in *pragmatische Geschichtsschreibung*: he was trying to encourage clergy to leave the comforts of home for missionary work. For that purpose, he needed people prepared to make an 'energetic effort for the diffusion and implementation of Christianity'.[363] At times, the text can read almost like a recruitment ad: the *Sembi* or *Pruzzi* are pagan, but *homines humanissimi*, always willing to help seafarers in need; Christian Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians are all prepared to pay dearly for officiating clergy – 'their excellent moral character ... is therefore corrupted only by priestly avarice'.[364] Those Swedes who had yet to be converted would readily listen to preachers of the truth, and, while polytheistic, placed the God of the Christians above all others. Only *mali doctores* were hindering them from fully embracing the new religion.[365]

Adam of Bremen was, and not even the most skeptical of modern scholars could deny this, remarkably well-informed. Perhaps he put more trust in ancient authors than would seem necessary to a modern reader: the further north his *descriptio* takes him, the less rooted in empirical reality his information becomes, culminating in a menagerie of half-men, half-beasts in the furthest regions, based on Jordanes, Martianus Capella, Solinus, Orosius, and so on.[366] But his recourse to the classics should not be seen as an unfortunate filter obscuring and blurring his account of the north. Rather, it was his way of making sense of an expanse stretching from *Winland*

Christi. Qui nuper tam nobili fine coronatus exemplum dedit posteris, nulla temporum vel locorum asperitate vestram pigriciam excusari posse, cum per tanta pericula maris et terrae feroces aquilonis populos ipse pertransiens ministerium legationis suae tanto impleret studio, ut in ultimis terrae finibus exspirans animam suam poneret pro Christo'.

[363] Theuerkauf, 'Die hamburgische Kirchengeschichte', p. 123: 'tatkräftige[s] Eintreten für die Ausbreitung und Durchsetzung des Christentums'.

[364] Adam, *Gesta* IV:18 and IV:31 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 245 and 265; transl. Tschan, pp. 198–9 and 212): 'Apud illos igitur tanta morum insignia ... sola sacerdotum corrumpuntur avaricia'.

[365] Ibid. IV:21 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 252; transl. Tschan, p. 203).

[366] Ibid. IV:19 and IV:41 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 246–8 and 278; transl. Tschan, pp. 200–1 and 222).

to the White Sea, which had never before been described in writing. Certainly, Adam's ambivalent attitude towards barbarity and pagan peoples can be explained as a hangover from Roman authors with a tendency towards barbarophilia; but it is more than that.[367] It also has a practical dimension, serving to demonstrate the success of Hamburg-Bremen in a difficult environment, to point towards the progress of apostolic history in distant regions, and to ensure that missionary efforts continued. It took a special kind of cleric to transform *illa ferocissima Danorum sive Nortmannorum aut Sueonum natio ... populus ille pyraticus* into alleluia-singing Christians, and the when Adam looked to the past to define such a cleric, he did so with an eye on the future.[368]

3:2:3. The Clergy and German Influence on the Scandinavian Church

In this section, I turn from text to people, and attempt a survey of the careers of clergy of German affiliation who held office in Scandinavia in around 1050–1150. That it is a question of German affiliation, rather than German origin, will be apparent soon enough: for one thing, while nationality was not without importance, particularly with some evidence of nascent Danish and Norwegian national *Selbstgefühl* in the twelfth century, transfer of religious culture from Germany into Scandinavia came via non-German agents as often as not. Furthermore, the fragmentary sources often give no indication of people's origin, and with the exception of some obviously Scandinavian names, it can be impossible to tell. The poverty of the sources has also restricted the investigation principally to episcopal careers, unrepresentative of the clerical class as a whole perhaps, but of self-evident importance in a 'Europe of bishops'.[369] I have discounted most evidence later than the early thirteenth century – significantly high- and late-medieval Swedish

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[367] On 'Adams antikisierendes Nördlichkeitsbild', see Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden*, pp. 290–308.

[368] Adam, *Gesta* IV:44 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 280; transl. Tschan, pp. 222–3).

[369] Reuter, 'Ein Europa der Bischöfe'; see also id., 'Bishops, Rites of Passage, and the Symbolism of State'.

episcopal lists and early modern Danish historians – as I wish to avoid speculative reconstruction. This is a matter of preference more than principle, and when source-critical problems do occur they have been considered in the footnotes.

The earliest Scandinavian episcopate has yet to receive extensive synthetic scholarly treatment – in fact, establishing who was bishop where and when is tricky enough.[370] The German episcopate of the tenth-, eleventh- and early twelfth centuries, on the other hand, has attracted a lot of scholarly attention, and has been at the centre of a long-standing debate about the nature, cohesion, and uniqueness of the so-called Ottonian-Salian *Reichskirche*, which culminated in the 1980s in a disagreement between Timothy Reuter and Josef Fleckenstein. Reuter argued that German scholarship had overestimated the systematic nature of the relation between ruler and episcopate under the Ottonians and Salians, and pointed out that bishops with a background in the royal chapel, or bishops elected with the assistance or involvement of the ruler, can never be shown to have been in the majority. In his view, the *Reichskirche* was no more than one European 'national church' among several.[371] Fleckenstein, who in an earlier article had himself drawn attention to how loosely and inconsistently historians had often used the term *Reichskirche*, defended the term vigorously against Reuter, both in its narrower, legal sense of the churches directly under Ottonian and Salian royal/imperial jurisdiction (notably all cathedrals and the so-called *Reichsklöster*), and in the broader sense as a descriptive scholarly construct, emphasising the close ties between ruler and bishop in ecclesiastical organisation from Otto I to the 'investiture controversy'.[372] Contemporary German

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[370] See however, for Denmark: Gelting, 'Elusive Bishops' and Kluger, 'Bischof und König'; for Sweden, Hellström, *Biskop och landskapssamhälle*, pp. 16–86; for Iceland, Orri Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland*, pp. 19–24, 58–67, and 144–78. The *regesta* of Danish bishops before 1198 have been published in the *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae occidentalis* (vol. VI:2, ed. Kluger), and the volumes concerning the rest of Scandinavia are in preparation.

[371] Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System"'.

[372] Fleckenstein, 'Zum Begriff der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche' and (against Reuter) 'Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche'. Fleckenstein quite rightly pointed out that the particular compound singled out for criticism by Reuter, *Reichskirchensystem*, is far less

scholarship usually cites and acknowledges Reuter's criticism, even if few scholars have been prepared to shed the label *Reichskirche*, and most keep using it in the broader sense defined by Fleckenstein. Some are still prepared to speak of a system.[373] An article and a pamphlet by Rudolf Schieffer can be said to represent the *communis opinio*.[374]

In this debate Hamburg-Bremen and its suffragans have been a peripheral concern at best. The missionary bishoprics were more important in prewar and wartime nationally-oriented German historiography, when the expansionist nature of the empire and its church, with the Ottonian-Salian-Hohenstaufen emperors as the 'incontestable leaders of the Christian West', was emphasised, but the focus was on

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common than the simple *Reichskirche*. The 'system' element is however implicit in many scholars' usage of the word *Reichskirche*. There are other problems with Fleckenstein's argument: for example his assertion that the Latin church survived the fall of the Western Roman Empire essentially unchanged ('Kurzum: das Reich ging unter, aber die Kirche bestand ohne wesentliche Veränderung fort': ibid., p. 226; cf., for example, Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 216–32); or his puzzling misquotation of the concordat of Worms, which according to Fleckenstein identifies as a particular group all the churches, *quae ad regnum vel imperium pertinent*, where the actual text says *electiones episcoporum et abbatum Teutonici regni, qui ad regnum pertinent* (Fleckenstein, 'Zum Begriff', p. 232; cf. *Pax Wormatiensis* (ed. Weiland, p. 161); Fleckenstein made some attempt to explain, not quite convincingly, why he chose to read the passage this way, but did not mention the interpolated *vel imperium*).

[373] Notably Hartmut Hoffmann: 'Der König und seine Bischöfe in Frankreich und im Deutschen Reich', p. 79; Hoffmann's article is even more unusual for systematically attempting a definition of the *Reichskirchensystem* in comparison with elsewhere in Europe. Perhaps not unexpectedly, he has found a number of qualitative similarities, but argued for considerable quantitative difference, reflecting the fragmentary and limited power of the late Carolingian and early Capetian kings. A comparison with Anglo-Saxon England would probably give rather different results; a comparative study on the scope of episcopal action under the Ottonians and Salians and in Anglo-Saxon England by Dominik Waßenhoven is underway at the University of Bayreuth (personal communication).

[374] R. Schieffer, 'Der ottonische Reichsepiskopat' and *Der geschichtliche Ort der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchenpolitik.*

the east rather than the north.[375] Adding the Scandinavian mission to the mix can, however, be of considerable interest. Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen did after all rise to prominence during what was arguably the climax of the *Reichskirche*, the reign of Henry III, and his and Anno of Cologne's administration of Henry IV's minority was the exercise of episcopal power at its most princely. His policy towards Scandinavia must be viewed in this context. Scholarly literature has often insisted on emphasising the eventual failure, inauthentic background, and sheer pointlessness of Adalbert's grandiose plans, but some of his projects were remarkably successful, and not only in the very short term.[376]

That the Danes would, at some point, especially after the reign of Cnut the Great had begun the process of turning Denmark into a Christian European monarchy, wish to have their own archbishop must have seemed an inevitability to Adalbert. When King Sven Estridsen of Denmark expressed his desire for a local metropolitan, Adalbert's ambitious solution, described by Adam, was to accept the creation of a Danish archbishopric only if 'patriarchal rank were conceded to him and his church by Roman privileges'.[377] For this purpose, he needed to present the papacy with a

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[375] For example, Theodor Mayer in 1931, 'Die mittelalterliche deutsche Kaiserpolitik und der deutsche Osten', whence the quotation (on p. 48): 'die unbedingten Führer des christlichen Abendlandes'.

[376] Cf. for example Goetz, 'Constructing the past', pp. 46–7: 'Hamburg's claim on the North (and therefore, Hamburg as the centre on the border of a huge North European periphery) was far from being a historical reality. It was mere pretence'; Breengaard, *Muren om Israels hus*, pp. 83–97 is notably different, arguing that Adalbert pursued a successful and forceful policy towards Denmark, backed by the papacy.

[377] Adam, *Gesta* III:33 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 175; transl. Tschan, p. 141: 'si patriarchatus honor sibi et ecclesiae suae Romanis privilegiis concederetur'. Cf. Breengaard, *Muren om Israels hus*, p. 87, who has argued that Adalbert's planned patriarchate was not in fact a defensive reaction against initiatives on the part of King Sven of Denmark, as most scholars, following Adam, have accepted: rather, Adam 'indubitably' invented this causal relationship because he found Adalbert's plans 'embarrassingly ambitious' ('utvivlsomt ... pinligt ambitiøse'). This remains a possibility, but is hardly 'indubitably' true – the adverb is symptomatic of how some recent Scandianvian scholars have, almost instinctively, distrusted Adam's narrative.

canonically spotless archdiocese, with Hamburg presiding over twelve bishops in Germany, apart from its suffragans in Scandinavia and the Slavic lands.[378] These plans – fanciful, as they necessitated the incorporation of Verden (under the archbishops of Cologne) into Hamburg-Bremen, and the creation of bishoprics in a number of places that were no more than hamlets – failed. But what Adalbert did achieve was nonetheless remarkable.[379] For one thing, the creation of a Danish archbishopric was delayed – by a full half-century, in fact. Furthermore, Adalbert made use of the general sense of common purpose and strong links between the papacy and the emperor which arose after the election of Pope Leo IX (1049–54) to bolster the prerogatives and authority of Hamburg-Bremen. A magnificent diploma of 6 January 1053 expanded the legateship of Adalbert and his successors beyond Denmark and Sweden, to include also Norway, Iceland, Greenland, the nomadic *Scrideuinni* of the Arctic, and all *septentrionales nationes*, including the Slavs between the Elbe and the Eider. Equally interesting is the second part of the diploma, which makes an extended analogy between Adalbert's legateship and papal vicariate and that of St Boniface.

> And as we have decreed that the legateship of the apostolic see and our office among the aforesaid peoples has been given to you – just as the most blessed Boniface, archbishop of Mainz, was once appointed legate to the Germans by our predecessors Gregory II and Gregory III, as well as Zachary – we decide, by the privilege of the holy Roman and apostolic see, to raise you and your successors, not only to your old honours, but also to new ones, given the

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[378] On the canon-legal dimensions of Adalbert's planned patriarchate, see Fuhrmann, '*Provincia constat duodecim episcopatibus*', pp. 392–4 in particular.

[379] Cf. the very different view of events in Gelting, 'Elusive bishops', which disagrees with my argument here. According to Gelting, his 'reconstruction' of Danish eleventh-century episcopal history 'is hypothetical, but so is the consensus version, and [he believes his] reconstruction has the advantage of greater coherence' (ibid., p. 170). The difference with my argument below is one more of general thrust than of details and events. I do not necessarily see coherence as an attainable, or even desirable, goal in the analysis of such a patchily attested period, and will admit to being much more prepared to take Adam at his word than the sceptical Gelting.

> increase of your merits; as long as, according to the example of the aforementioned martyr Boniface, by sacrament and with due subjection, you are always ready to obey us and our successors in the apostolic see.[380]

It was the kind of document that a generation later, to Adam and Liemar, would give the impression that everything had gone wrong, that had once been right and proper. Adalbert also established good relations with Sven Estridsen, despite their, in part, divergent church-political aims, and they marked their alliance with an eight-day-long feast in Schleswig.[381] At Adalbert's instigation, Sven and Henry III, according to Adam, swore each other *perpetua amicitia* at Merseburg in 1053.[382] Sven Estridsen keenly cultivated his relationship with the papacy, and Leo IX reportedly took great pleasure in the company of the (Latin-speaking) parrot the king had sent him on his election.[383] Also after the deaths of Leo IX and Henry III did Rome continue to provide strong support for her vicar in Bremen: even if Adalbert's position on the disputed papal elections of 1058 and 1061 is unknown, there is no reason to assume that he actively opposed the Hildebrandine party.[384] Alexander II came to intervene forcefully on Adalbert's behalf in Denmark and Norway.[385]

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[380] Lappenberg, ed., *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, 75; *DDan* II, no. 1 (with slightly differing punctuation, which has been retained here): 'Et quia legatione apostolicę sedis et uice nostra in gentibus supradictis decreuimus te fungi, quemadmodum et beatissimus Bonifacius, Moguntinus archiepiscopus, a reuerentissimis predecessoris nostris, Gregorio secundo et Gregorio tertio atque Zacharia, quondam legatus germanicus est constitutus, sanctę romanę et apostolicę sedis priuilegio decernimus te tuosque successores non tantum antiquis, sed etiam secundum meritorum incrementa nouis ampliare honoribus, si tamen exemplo supradicti martiris Bonifacii sacramento et debita subiectione semper praesto sint obedire nobis nostrisque successoribus in apostolica sede'.

[381] Probably in 1052 or 1053: Adam, *Gesta*, III:18 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 161; transl. Tschan, pp. 129–30).

[382] See also above, p .140–1.

[383] *Vita Leonis IX papae* II:9: Parisse, ed. Goullet, transl., *La vie du Pape Léon IX*, pp. 84–7; transl. Robinson, *The Papal Reform*, pp. 135–6.

[384] See Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe*, p. 68.

[385] *DDan* II, no. 5, 6, and 7; Adam, Gesta

Adalbert had created a special relationship with the reform papacy, the relationship that would vex Liemar so much when Gregory VII turned against him.

Thus, for all that Adalbert could be a divisive character, and his posthumous reputation was often negative, there is also evidence that he could be a forceful and effective consensus-builder. The alliance between Henry III, Sven Estridsen, Adalbert, and Leo IX in 1052–3 provided a strong foundation for Hamburg-Bremen's Scandinavian ambitions in the ensuing years. This can be seen also in Adalbert's influence on the Scandinavian episcopate. The scholarly debate on this subject has been dominated by the updating and radical reorganisation of the Danish bishoprics of around 1060, when King Sven created five new episcopal sees in addition to the four that already existed, according to Adam with Adalbert's sanction.[386] Scholarly interpretations of the purpose of the new diocesan organisation differ: the traditional view of Danish and Swedish historians is that this was a preparatory move on the way towards an independent Danish church – and, *ergo*, would have been effected by King Sven in opposition to Adalbert.[387] Gregory VII mentioned in one of his letters to Sven that the king had been negotiating with Alexander II about a Danish archbishopric.[388] Again, however, there are reasons to believe that Adam *did not* manipulate his narrative in Hamburg-Bremen's favour. First, there was nothing in the new diocesan organisation – presumably also a reflection of a more well-established Christianity, and larger numbers of local churches in need of episcopal guidance – which, *per se*, diminished or subverted the prestige of Hamburg-Bremen. Indeed, such expansion probably reflected very well on the (still) officially accepted metropolitan in Bremen. In the revisionist conclusion of Carsten Breengaard, it demonstrated 'true cooperation, where each

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[386] Adam, *Gesta* III:25 and IV:8–9 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. and 235–7; transl. Tschan, pp. 134–5 and 191–3).

[387] For example, L. Weibull, *NH* II, 24.

[388] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II:51 (ed. Caspar, pp. 192–4; transl. Cowdrey, *The Register*, pp 142–3).

party understood how to further its legitimate interests'.[389] Furthermore, in terms of its influence on the recruitment and allegiances of the Scandinavian (not only Danish) episcopate, the years following 1060 marked something of a high point in the history of Hamburg-Bremen.[390] For the purposes of the present section, however, what matters more is who the bishops Adalbert consecrated were, and where they came from.

Adam recounted Adalbert's episcopal appointments in two sections of his *Gesta*: towards the end of book three, as examples of Adalbert's positive achievements, and in book four, the *descriptio insularum*, in his brief summaries of the ecclesiastical history of the Scandinavian kingdoms.[391] Adam did not mention the bishops appointed for German dioceses by Adalbert in 1065, at the height of his powers, but it seems reasonable to agree with Josef Fleckenstein that they were remarkably unsuccessful: three out of four were opposed in their own diocese.[392] In Scandinavia, however, the picture is more varied. Adam tells of nine Danish bishops appointed by Adalbert: Rudolf of Schleswig, Oddo of Ribe, Christian of Aarhus, Heribert of Viborg, Magnus of Vendsyssel, Alberic of Vendsyssel, Egilbert of Heligoland and Fyn, William of Roskilde, and Egino of Dalby (later Lund); for Sweden, six: Adalward the Elder of Skara, Adalward the Younger of Sigtuna, Acilin and Tadico, neither of whom took up office, Simon or Stenphi, and John. The last

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[389] *Muren om Israels hus*, p. 89: 'et reelt samarbejde, hvor hver af parterne forstod at tage vare på de interesser, der legitimt var deres'.

[390] Cf. Gelting, 'Elusive Bishops', pp. 172 –98.

[391] Adam, *Gesta* III:77, IV:2–3, IV:8–9, IV:34, and IV:36 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 222–5, 230–1, 235–7, 268–9, and 271–4; transl. Tschan, pp. 182–4, 188–9, 191–3, 214–15, and 216–18).

[392] Werner II of Strasbourg, Adalbero of Worms, and Hermann of Bamberg; Lampert of Hersfeld described Adalbero as an aristocrat forced into monastic life due to physical misfortune; fiendishly ugly, lame, and very fat, *vir per omnia dignus spectaculo* (*Annales*, s. a. 1066; ed. and transl. Schmidt and Fritz, pp. 106–7). See Fleckenstein, 'Hofkapelle und Reichsepiskopat', pp. 250–1; id., 'Heinrich IV. und der deutsche Episkopat', pp. 225–6. Anno of Cologne was at least as unfortunate in his episcopal appointments during Henry IV's minority: in one case, in Trier, his relative, and preferred candidate, Conrad was pushed off a cliff by the men of the diocese: ibid. p. 227.

two were allotted vaguely defined areas to evangelise: the nomadic population of the north, and the Baltic islands respectively. For Norway, Adalbert consecrated the obscure Tholf and Seward, both active in or near Nidaros; for the Orkneys: Turolf, John, and Adalbert; for Iceland, Ísleifr, whose case is interesting enough to merit separate attention. As for the others, their careers can be assessed first in terms of background, and second in terms of success within the framework of episcopal ideals in Adam's text discussed above.

The background of these figures, as far as it is known, is probably best described as eclectic. First, it is clear that Bremen and dependent houses functioned as a training ground only up to a point. Adam takes care to point out which bishops were chosen from the archbishop's 'own clerics': Rudolf of Schleswig, William of Roskilde, Egilbert of Heligoland and Fyn, and Adalward the Elder. Even this was apparently not much of a guarantee of loyalty towards the archbishopric: Egilbert, who had taken a roundabout way into the episcopal office, as a convert from piracy and a hermit of sorts, who had built a monastery on the island of Heligoland in the North Sea, refused to comply when Adalbert attempted to organise a pan-Scandinavian synod in around 1062, was strongly rebuked on the archbishop's behalf by Pope Alexander II, and appears to have been suspended from office.[393] Tadico, appointed for Sweden to fill the position of Adalward the Younger after his death, was from Ramelsloh, a house of canons near Verden which was under much-contested Bremen authority, but refused to leave, much to Adam's dismay.[394] The same is true of Acilin, apparently resident in Cologne. John, bishop of the Orkneys, had first been consecrated in Scotland. Two of Adalbert's appointees were monks, Egilbert and John or Hiltin. The case of John or Hiltin shows how the archbishop could use his family connections for the purposes of his northern mission: he was the former abbot of Goseck, Adalbert's ancestral home in Thuringia.

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[393] According to the fragmentary schol. 115 (Adam, *Gesta* IV:9: ed. Schmeidler, p. 237; transl. Tschan, p. 193).

[394] On Ramelsloh, see Brosius, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Stifts Ramelsloh*, pp. 1–22.

Adalbert's selection of bishops gives the general impression that Bremen did not have the resources to function as a full-scale missionary school, at least not to the point where it would dominate the training of the foreign clergy who made their way to Scandinavia. In this respect, his scope of action resembles that of the only one of his predecessors for whom there is sufficient information to compare, Archbishop Unwan (1013–29). Adalbert is also comparable to Unwan in his efforts to establish allegiance to Hamburg-Bremen among bishops who had been consecrated elsewhere: sometimes to no avail, but often successfully, showing how Hamburg-Bremen could turn what has often been interpreted as a weakness to its advantage.[395] Most fascinating among such figures are those who passed through Bremen on longer journeys, and left to continue their eccentric performance of the episcopal office with the archbishop's blessing. They were his suffragans only in the loosest sense, bishops without a see and with ill-defined loyalties, who travelled between nations, quite outside of the conventional hierarchies of the church. The sociable Adalbert seems to have enjoyed their company, and liked to keep in his entourage not only 'mountebanks, parasites, interpreters of dreams, and newsmongers', but also 'seven or five bishops'. [396] Two particular favourites, and remarkable cases in point, were Bovo, of obscure origin, who told more-or-less believable tales of his exploits in the Holy Land and captivity at the hands of the Saracens in Babylon, and John, who came to Bremen from *Scotia*, 'out of his love for roving', may have spent some time in Iceland, and was eventually horribly martyred in Mecklenburg.[397] Hamburg-Bremen's Scandinavian and Slavic missions depended on such characters.

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[395] For example from Unwan's archiepiscopacy, see Adam, *Gesta* II:55 and II:57 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 115–18; transl. Tschan, pp. 93–5).

[396] Adam, *Gesta* III:39 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 181: *gnathones, parasiti, somniatores et rumigeruli*; transl. Tschan, p. 146) and III:77 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 224; transl. Tschan, p. 183).

[397] Adam appears skeptical about Bovo's trustworthiness: ibid., III:77 (Tschan, pp. 183–4) and III:51 (Tschan, pp. 157–8: on John's martyrdom). John's Icelandic sojourn was not mentioned by Adam, but he appears in early Icelandic sources: Ari, *Íslendingabók* (ed. Jakob Benediktsson, p. 18) and *Hungrvaka* (ed. Ásdís Egilsdóttir, p. 11). Only the latter, however, makes the identification with the Mecklenburg martyr explicit, and the author could have been influenced by Adam. The matter is

The case of Bishop Ísleifr of Iceland stands as particular testimony to the ways in which German influence, from Bremen and elsewhere, could make its way into the high ranks of the Scandinavian clergy. For once, his career is well-attested in written histories other than Adam's.[398] A son of Gizurr the White, a chieftain who had been instrumental in the declaration of Iceland's conversion to Christianity at the general assembly, the *Alþingi*, in 999/1000, Ísleifr was sent to Germany at an early age, and was educated at the nunnery of Herford. Herford, in northern Westfalia, on a tributary of the Weser, was founded in 789. The house had a strong association with the Carolingians and Ottonians, but became dominated by the Billung family in the tenth century. By the time Ísleifr would have entered Herford, the abbess was Godesti (d. 1040), daughter of Duke Bernhard I (her predecessor had been his sister). The abbess's connections, by family and through intellectual ties, drew Ísleifr into a wide network of ecclesiastics and scholars.[399] Ordained a priest, Ísleifr returned to Iceland, where he married and became renowned for his learning; at the age of fifty or so, the Icelanders elected him their bishop, and he went abroad to be consecrated. He came to Germany in style, reportedly bringing with him a Greenlandic polar bear for Emperor Henry III, visited the pope, and was consecrated bishop by Adalbert at Pentecost 1056. The archbishop sent with him letters and instructions, and optimistically promised that he would come and visit Iceland and Greenland 'very soon'.[400] After twenty-four years of assiduously serving and

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made particularly complicated by the existence of the other John the Scot, whom Adalbert appointed bishop of the Orkneys.

[398] Broad outlines of Ísleifr's career can be found in Adam, *Gesta* IV:36 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 271–4; transl. Tschan, pp. 217–18) and Ari Þorgilsson's *Íslendingabók* from 1122×32, ch. IX (ed. Jakob Benediktsson, pp. 20–1). Details, however, depend on *Hungrvaka*, the *gesta episcoporum* of the diocese of Skálholt, dated to the first or second decade of the thirteenth century (ed. Ásdís Egilsdóttir, pp. 6–11).

[399] For a comprehensive history of medieval Herford, see Kroker, 'Kaiser, Könige und fromme Frauen'. On the importance of Ísleifr's time there, see Boyer, *La vie religieuse en Islande*, pp. 59–60; on when exactly he was there, see Köhne, 'Bischof Ísleifr Gizurarson', pp. 13–4.

[400] Adam, *Gesta* IV:36 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 273–4; transl. Tschan, p. 18).

instructing a sometimes reluctantly Christian province, Ísleifr died in 1080, and was succeeded two years later by his son Gizurr, also German-trained. The details of this narrative may be doubted, but it illustrates at least three basic points: Adalbert's strategic tying of already well-established clerics to Hamburg-Bremen; the way influence from German centres outside of the immediate contact points in Lower Saxony and Frisia could make inroads into the Scandinavian church at an early stage; and the strength of the consensus about the Scandinavian mission which had grown up between Henry III, Adalbert, and the papacy in the 1050s.[401] The accounts of Ísleifr's career also neatly demonstrate how Icelandic historians in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, very much in contrast to their Danish colleagues, were perfectly willing to admit to the role Hamburg-Bremen played in their early ecclesiastical history, and do not seem to have had any qualms about ascribing to German clerics much of the missionary work that laid the ground for their conversion.[402]

The peculiar relation of the Hamburg-Bremen suffragans in Scandinavia, and consequently of the whole archbishopric, to the German church, was made explicit by Archbishop Liemar in his well-known letter to Bishop Hezilo of Hildesheim of 1075, when he had been asked, together with Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, by Gregory VII's legates to organise a German synod:[403]

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[401] The analysis of *Hungrvaka* in Köhne, 'Bischof Ísleifr Gizurarson', pp. 27–32 in particular, seems excessively sceptical: his assertion that Ísleifr's journey first to the imperial court, then to the pope, then to the archiepiscopal see, was too neatly 'symbolic' to be authentic seems misguided (why would such symbolism exist only in fiction, and not in life?), and relies on assumptions about tension between these institutions which did not exist by the 1050s (cf. ibid., p. 31). The fact that *Hungrvaka* identifies the pope in question as Leo IX (d. 1054) remains problematic, but this identification is carried over from *Íslendingabók* X (although corrected from Ari's obviously mistaken 'Leo septimus': ed. Jakob Benediktsson, p. 21).

[402] On the missionary bishops active in Iceland, see ibid. VIII, 18–19, and the important discussion in Orri Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland*, pp. 19–24.

[403] See above, p. 115–16.

> I have sent my helpers and suffragans to dwell among the Danes and with the peoples across the sea they can hardly come to that German synod, and it does in no way pertain to me to promote a German synod.[404]

Thus Liemar made it clear that his suffragans were not part of a German church – a German synod was none of their business; furthermore, that he – as archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen – stood in a special relation to the other German bishops. The ironies and complexities of Liemar's conflict with the papacy in 1074–5 (as discussed above) are nowhere more apparent than here. It seems likely that he and Siegfried had been approached because of their special links with Rome – they both carried the title *vicarius papae* – and Liemar's stand against the pope was motivated by pointing out the papacy's overestimation of the cohesion of the German church. Apart from providing fodder for Reuter's dismissal of the *Reichskirchensystem*, Liemar's comments serve to highlight problems of a more practical nature, as shown by the examples above: not only were his powers in the north very limited in application, especially after the damage Bremen had suffered at the hands of Saxon rebels (Hamburg had been in complete disarray since the Slavic raids of 1066), but by necessity, his mission involved men whose place in the ecclesiastical hierarchies was difficult to identify; those same hierarchies that Gregory was trying to clarify and redefine. Around this time the peculiar case of a Danish bishop of German origin, also involving Pope Gregory, serves as a further illustration of the problems Liemar was negotiating, with Rome, with the other German bishops, and in the north. It is also, in fact, Liemar's only attested direct involvement in Scandinavian affairs in his entire career, with the possible exception of the charter forgeries often attributed to his episcopate, and the commissioning of Adam's *Gesta*.[405]

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[404] Erdmann and Fickermann, ed., *Briefsammlungen*, p. 34: 'Ego addidi meos coadiutores et suffraganeos inter Danos et in transmarinis gentibus commorari, eos ad hanc synodum Teutonicam minime venire nihilque ad me pertinere de laudatione synodi Teutonicę'.

[405] Wolfgang Seegrün has attributed the forgery of six surviving papal diplomas to Liemar's archiepiscopate: *Das Erzbistum*, pp. 83–100.

After the death of Bishop Egino of Lund, apparently one of Hamburg-Bremen's most successful appointees, in 1072, he was replaced by a certain Ricwal.[406] Ricwal would, like almost all Scandinavian bishops of his generation, have remained desperately obscure, had it not been for a letter sent by the bishop of Padberborn, Imad (1051–76), to Pope Gregory VII in 1075.[407] The letter was written at the behest of Liemar, who was going to bring it with him to Rome, presumably to support his own case for readmittance to the archiepiscopal office after his excommunication and suspension in February 1075.[408] Ricwal, Imad wrote, had been a canon at Paderborn cathedral but, for undisclosed reasons, had absconded from the chapter, and fled to Denmark, where he had managed to become a bishop. Imad had attempted to call him back, 'as a shepherd does a sheep', but, when Ricwal responded only with contempt and carelessness, had been forced to excommunicate him.[409] He had asked Archbishop Adalbert to assist him in bringing Ricwal back to the fold, but Adalbert's attempts were equally fruitless. Now, however, Ricwal appeared to be showing some contrition – he was, Imad believed, afraid of losing his episcopal dignity and title, and had promised to make amends to the church.[410] Imad's letter was testimony that matters of uncanonical irregularity that fell within Liemar's metropolitan jurisdiction were being dealt with and would hopefully soon be resolved.[411] What Gregory made of the case is unknown: his letter to King Sven

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[406] For the death of Egino's death: Adam, *Gesta* IV:9 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 237; transl. Tschan, p. 193). Adam did not mention the appointment of Ricwal.

[407] Schmeidler, ed., 'Ein Brief Bischof Imads'; on Imad, see Meier, *Die Bischöfe von Paderborn*, pp. 13–35.

[408] See above, p. 116.

[409] Schmeidler, ed., 'Ein Brief Bischof Imads', p. 804: 'ut pastor ovem'.

[410] Ibid., pp. 804–5: 'Nunc demum post tot expectationes – credo, quod nomen episcopatus atque eam dignitatem timet amittere – rediturum sese ac sanctę ecclesię satisfacturum pollicetur'.

[411] Cf. Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 82–4, who has argued that Liemar's purpose in presenting the letter to Gregory would have been to point to *deficiencies* within the Danish church, specifically to hinder Pope Gregory and Sven Estridsen from appointing Ricwal archbishop of Denmark. This would certainly have been a clever plan, but it is manifestly contradicted by the optimistic conclusion to Imad's letter. Cf. also Breengaard, *Muren om Israels hus*, pp. 99–105, and Christensen, 'Rikval'.

Estridsen from 17 April 1075 did not mention Ricwal.[412] What is clear, however, is that Ricwal's continued career did not suffer particularly from his problematic background. He remained in office until his death in 1089, and in 1085 his church was granted great resources by the Danish king, to build a new church building and to create a cathedral chapter at Lund.[413]

Other examples of interesting and relevant clerical careers come from the 1130s. The church-political context is complicated, and has been investigated in some detail by a number of Danish and German historians.[414] Only a superficial summary will be given here. After the death of Liemar – whose active interventions in Scandinavia may have been few, but whose importance for the prestige of Hamburg-Bremen must not be underestimated – the Hamburg-Bremen archbishops seems to have lost most of their sense of initiative in the Scandinavian mission, and concentrated their efforts on matters more closely at hand, including the mission to the Nordalbingian Slavs. In 1103/4 the archbishop of Lund acquired metropolitan authority over all of Scandinavia.[415] Only under Adalbero (1123–48), as mentioned above, did Hamburg-Bremen's Scandinavian mission return to the archiepiscopal agenda.[416] Adalbero's campaign to regain the Scandinavian legateship was intense: he made a full four journeys to Rome (in 1123, 1130, 1133, and 1139), and forged diploma after diploma to prove quite how ancient the rights of his archdiocese were. Already on his first Roman expedition, when he went to receive the pallium after his election, and attended the First Lateran Council, Adalbero appears to have had some tentative success.[417] He returned in 1130 and 1133. 1133 saw a breakthrough. Adalbero came as a member of the entourage of King Lothar, who in turn came to Rome for his

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[412] *Registrum* II:75, ed. Caspar, pp. 237–8; transl. Cowdrey, *The Register*, pp. 170–3.

[413] See below, p. 173.

[414] Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 133–45; Beumann, 'Das päpstliche Schisma von 1130'; Breengaard, *Muren om Israels hus*, pp. 203–36; Engels, 'Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark', pp. 358–71; Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde'.

[415] On the first archbishop, Asser, see chapter four below.

[416] For an introduction to Adalbero's Scandinavian policy, see Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe*, pp. 135–8.

[417] See below, pp. 160–1, with reference to the situation in Sweden.

imperial coronation. Lothar reinstalled Pope Innocent II, who had been exiled from the city since his disputed election three years earlier, in the Lateran palace, where Lothar was crowned: they were unable to enter St Peter's. Nonetheless, this must have been a climax of sorts for the sense of agreement which had followed the concordat of Worms. Lothar stayed in Rome for six weeks in the company of Pope Innocent and some highly illustrious churchmen, notably Norbert of Xanten, archbishop of Magdeburg since 1126.[418] The triumph did not last: emperor and pope were soon forced out of Rome. But in May 1133, in what must have been an atmosphere of nervous excitement, Innocent issued Adalbero with a magnificent diploma asserting that Hamburg was once again the metropolis of *episcopatus Daciae, Swediae, Norveiae, Farriae, Gronlandiae, Halsingaldiae, Islandiae, Scridevindiae et Sclavorum*.[419] The pope wrote letters to the kings of Denmark and Sweden, to Asser of Lund, and to the Swedish bishops, to inform them of his verdict.[420] The following few years saw an intricate church-political game unfold, in which Adalbero tried to assert his renewed privileges in practice, and the Danish bishops did their best to ignore him.[421] The Danish civil wars, and Lothar's

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[418] Bernardi, *Lothar von Supplinburg*, pp. 462–97; Robinson, *The Papacy*, 447–54.

[419] Lappenberg, ed., *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, 133; *DDan* II, no. 57.

[420] *DDan* II, no. 58–61. The idea that these documents, or the decisions therein, never reached the recipients, expressed for example by Breengaard, *Muren om Israels hus*, p. 221, seems misguided: Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde', pp. 187–8. Innocent II also, astonishingly, took the opportunity to give Norbert and the archdiocese of Magdeburg metropolitan authority over all Polish dioceses. There had been an archbishop in Poland since 1000. On the connection and parallels between the privileges Innocent gave to Hamburg-Bremen and Magdeburg, see Beumann, 'Das päpstliche Schisma von 1130'.

[421] Asser continued to use archiepiscopal titulature, and consecrated an Icelandic bishop in 1134. It has therefore been suggested that Pope Innocent's degradation of the archbishopric of Lund was only meant to take effect after the death of Archbishop Asser: Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde', pp. 187–90. This hinges on a particular interpretation of the papal letter to Asser of , which – although its survival is slightly problematic – seems to me to say directly that Asser should subject himself to Adalbero's metropolitanate (*DDan* II, no. 59; Adalbero, Innocent says to Asser, is *metropolitanus tuus*). Still, there is no reason to believe that the papacy was particularly insistent

intervention, complicated matters further. In 1138, shortly after the election of Archbishop Eskil of Lund, Innocent reversed his decision. Adalbero did not give up: he continued to lobby the papacy until, in 1148, Pope Eugene III had had enough, and – according to the Annals of Pöhlde – told the supplicant archbishop, old and visibly ill, to go and die, and threatened him with deposition should he remain alive.[422] After twenty-five years of campaigning, it was a sorry end to Adalbero's career.

The consequences of this development for the Danish episcopate can be illustrated by the episcopal succession to the see of Schleswig. By the mid-1130s the Danish episcopate was dominated by former canons of Lund cathedral chapter. This was the background also of Bishop Riko of Schleswig (around 1135–7).[423] Riko was elected to the see of Lund – the metropolitan see, in the eyes of most Danish churchmen, if not from a German or papal perspective – in 1137, *a ... clero et populo*, but was outmanoeuvered by Eskil of Roskilde, nephew of Asser of Lund.[424] Seemingly undeterred, Riko took up his third episcopal appointment, replacing Eskil in Roskilde. He died there in 1139. Riko's successor in Schleswig was a local man: Occo.[425] Occo's career was troubled from the start: Archbishop Eskil opposed him, and appointed in his stead a Lotharingian cleric called Hermann – a chaplain of Eskil's from Roskilde, and his delegate to Innocent II in the negotiations which

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when it came to the enforcement of the new decision, particularly after the excitement of the early summer of 1133 had subsided.

[422] Presumably at the synod of Reims in March: *Annales Palidenses*, s. a. 1148 (ed. Pertz, p. 84): '*Morere*, ait [dominus papa], *nam nisi cito moriaris, revera perferes a me sententiam depositionis!*'. See also May, *Regesten*, no. 480. That the encounter took place, and words were exchanged, is confirmed by a letter from Abbot Wibald of Corvey to Adalbero's successor Hartwig from 1149: ibid., no. 487 and Lappenberg, ed., *Hamburgisches Urkundebuch* I, 178–9.

[423] On Riko, see Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde', pp. 190–202, and the entries by Kaare Rübner Jørgensen (on Lund), Rolf Große (on Roskilde), and Christian Radtke (on Schleswig) in Kluger, ed., *Series episcoporum* VI:2, pp. 20, 87–8, and 108 respectively.

[424] *Chronicon Roskildense* XIX (ed. Gertz I, 32).

[425] On Occo, see Kluger, ed., *Series episcoporum* VI:2, pp. 109 and 112 (entry by Christian Radtke) and Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde', pp. 214–23.

resulted in the restitution of the archbishopric of Lund in 1138.[426] Relations between Occo and Hermann in the following years are unclear. Hermann was forced out of Schleswig at some point: in a charter issued by Archbishop Eskil in 1138×46, he appears as *Hermannus episcopus*, but is said to be *tumultu et seditione populari sede sua privatus*. Strangely enough, the charter was witnessed also by Occo, also called simply *episcopus*. Whatever compromise lay behind the occasion, it must have been tenuous.[427] Whether Occo was also, at some point, forced out of Schleswig, is uncertain, but it seems likely.[428] He witnessed a charter of Adalbero's in 1141, in Bremen.[429] At some point in the following years, however, he must have been accepted as the legitimate bishop of Schleswig, in all likelihood also by Eskil (Hermann died in Lund, no later than January 1151).[430] Occo's career nonetheless continued to be turbulent and was affected by the upheavals of the Alexandrine schism in 1159–78. He was temporarily deposed in 1157/8, reinstated in 1161, and deposed again at some point in the 1160s. By the early 1180s he was still alive, still claiming episcopal status, and witnessed a charter of Archbishop Frederick's in Bremen.[431]

The conflict surrounding the see of Schleswig may seem paradoxical at first: a German cleric opposed by Hamburg-Bremen, contending for office with a Dane affiliated with Hamburg-Bremen, but locally elected, and active in Danish affairs into the 1160s. But Occo's career shows how Hamburg-Bremen's influence in

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[426] Kluger, ed., *Series episcoporum* VI:2, pp. 110–11 (entry by Radtke).

[427] *DDan* II, no. 91. Lauritz Weibull connected it with the consecration of St Lawrence's cathedral in Lund, 1 September 1145, as the witness list bears similarities to those of other documents issued on that occasion (ibid., p. 175). Hermann was present for the consecration (and styled as *episcopus Sleswicensis*: ibid., no. 88 and 89).

[428] Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde', p. 216, has argued that Occo was exiled, probably for a period of several years.

[429] Lappenberg, ed., *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, 153–4; *DDan* II, no. 80.

[430] Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde', p. 219.

[431] May, *Regesten*, no. 605; he appears to have been resident in Bremen since at least 1174: ibid., no. 580.

Denmark had not been shattered entirely in 1103/4, or even 1138.[432] Furthermore, it shows how wary the historian must be of making assumptions about immutable partisanship in this period: the loyalties of the protagonists were complex and unstable, and their personal opinions are nearly always irretrievable. Bishops, by the nature of their office, had responsibilities towards pope, king, and archbishop, but also towards their city and cathedral: Hermann seems to have failed in the last respect. When, as in 1133, two men were claiming to be pope, two men were claiming to be archbishop of Denmark, and two men were claiming to be king of Denmark, long-lasting confusion was inevitable. The conflict also serves as a reminder the special situation of Schleswig, where the power of Archbishop Eskil was limited: it is after all only some seventy miles from Schleswig to Hamburg, along well-established trading routes (and around 105 miles to Bremen), whereas the distance between Schleswig and Lund is over twice the length (around 165 miles), and the journey between the two would have been considerably more complicated.

The preceding couple of paragraphs have, however, been a digression. The main interest, for the purposes of the present chapter, is instead the peculiar background of Hermann. Hermann was an exponent of a comparatively new type of religious life: he was a reform canon, or a canon regular, a cleric who had not taken monastic vows, but lived a communal life regularised to the point where, to the outside observer, 'the distinction between a monastic house and a reformed house of canons was scarcely possible'.[433] Canons regular followed the 'rule of St Augustine' – a

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[432] On this point, see also Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde', p. 183 and Breengaard, *Muren om Israels hus*, pp. 276–86.

[433] Weinfurter, 'Die Kanonikerreform des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts', p. 25: 'Vom äußeren Erscheinungsbild her war die Unterscheidung zwischen Mönchskloster und Reformstift kaum mehr möglich'. Modern scholarly discussion of the eleventh- and twelfth-century canons regular, which began with the work of Charles Dereine in the 1940s and '50s, has been dominated by a debate about why exactly the movement arose: was the impulse behind it primarily ascetic or pastoral, introvert or extrovert? For good introductions to the discussion, which reflects twelfth-century debates about the preeminence of canonical or monastic life, see Schmale, 'Kanonie, Seelsorge, Eigenkirche' and

blanket term for a number of Augustinian and pseudo-Augustinian precepts about how to lead an apostolic life.[434] By the early twelfth century, the Augustinian rules had crystallised into two varieties: the *ordo antiquus* (based on the so-called *Praeceptum*), and the stricter *ordo novus* (based on the so-called *Ordo monasterii*).[435] In German-speaking Europe, Rottenbuch in Bavaria and Marbach in the Alsace were the most influential centres under the *ordo antiquus*.[436] The *ordo novus* was promulgated from Prémontré, and from the abbey of Springiersbach in the Mosel Valley.[437] Hermann was from a house of canons (an abbey, in fact: leaders of houses of canons regular in the early twelfth century had begun to call themselves abbots, much to the dismay of certain monastic authors) called Kloosterrade in the diocese of Liège, now known by its French name Rolduc.[438]

Kloosterrade, like several other houses of its kind, had begun life as an eremitic foundation: it grew up around Ailbert of Tournai, who, on a *peregrinatio* to find an amenable spot to settle in ascetic solitude, attracted the wealth and attention of the local lord at Rode, Count Adalbert of Saffenberg. People flocked around Ailbert, and a large community of clerics, nuns, and lay brothers and sisters was established. The first lay people to be attracted to Ailbert's foundation, in 1107, were a whole family: a *ministerialis* of Count Adalbert's called Embrico, his wife Adeleide, and their children Margaret and Hermann. Embrico had the little *sacrarium* set up for

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Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp. 22–58. For an enjoyable introduction to canons regular in English, see Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, pp. 241–50.

[434] See the classic introduction by Dereine: 'Chanoines', cols. 357–8 and 386–90.

[435] The texts attributed to St Augustine which underlay the customaries of twelfth-century canons regular are edited in Verheijen, *La règle de St Augustin* (*Ordo monasterii*: I, 148–52; *Praeceptum*: I, 417–37).

[436] Mois, *Das Stift Rottenbuch*, in particular pp. 144–58. On Marbach, see below pp. 191–5.

[437] Dereine, 'Le premier ordo de Prémontré'; Weinfurter, 'Norbert von Xanten als Reformkanoniker', pp. 171–5; Erkens, 'Die Kanonikerreform in Oberlothringen', pp. 30–40 (on Springiersbach).

[438] Against canons regular calling themselves abbots, see for example Rupert of Deutz, *Super quaedam capitula regulae Benedicti* IV:5, PL CLXX, cols. 533–5; see also the discussion in van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, pp. 323–34. The most comprehensive and up-to-date discussion of high-medieval Kloosterrade is Deutz, *Geistliches und geistiges Leben*.

Ailbert by Count Adalbert replaced by a larger church building, and the hermitage began its transformation into a site of communal religious life.[439] After the death of Ailbert in 1111, a leader was called in from the outside, from Rottenbuch: Richer, who became the community's first abbot and remained in office until his death in 1123. Richer consolidated and regulated canonical life at Kloosterrade, and the abbey quickly grew in influence: when Archbishop Conrad I of Salzburg reformed his cathedral chapter in 1121, he imported customs from Kloosterrade.[440]

Kloosterrade's first fifty years of existence were chronicled in the *Annales Rodenses*, written in around 1160, whose narrow chronological range and strongly local focus give remarkably coherent and detailed insight into not only to the inner life of the community, but also its relation to the worldly powers that surrounded it, and to other houses of canons regular.[441] The period of 1123–34 presented particular difficulties for the community at Kloosterrade.[442] After the death of Abbot Richer, a series of leaders were appointed, only to resign or be forced out after a short period in office. In no case did they claim the title of abbot, but were simply called provosts. Two of them were called in from Springiersbach, and both tried to assert the infamously strict discipline of that house on Kloosterrade. The first, Bertolf – who, before his appointment at Kloosterrade, had been rejected by another reformed house for his excessive austerity – reportedly annoyed two of the members so much that they set fire to some of the abbey buildings. After Bertolf stepped down in 1124, and returned to Springiersbach, Hermann made a first attempt at taking over Kloosterrade, unsuccessful despite powerful backing from some of the canons. After a second provost from Springiersbach had come and gone – Borno, who was forced out in 1127 after a disagreement about liturgical practive and a papal intervention –

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[439] On Kloosterrade in Ailbert's time: ibid., pp. 73–105.

[440] On Kloosterrade in Richer's time: ibid., pp. 106–34. On the Salzburg reforms, see Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform*, in particular pp. 241–52.

[441] Pertz, ed., *Annales Rodenses*; for an introduction to the text, its date, and manuscript survival, see Deutz, *Geistliches und geistiges Leben*, pp. 11–23.

[442] Ibid., pp. 135–60.

Hermann yet again contended for the leadership. This time the annalist provided more information about his supporters and opponents: Hermann had gathered around him a party of *iuvenes*, but was opposed by Kloosterrade's *seniores*.[443] A year of grievous discord and uncertainty followed, until – following the deaths of both his parents in 1128 – Hermann admitted defeat, and left the abbey. His situation was far from hopeless: Archbishop Frederick of Cologne made him the leader of the Premonstratensian community at Dünnwald, just outside Cologne. Again, however, the community rejected him, and he left for Denmark. The Kloosterrade annalist was remarkably well-informed also about Hermann's continued career: he knew about his achievements as Eskil's delegate in Rome in 1137, and about his hapless stint as bishop of Schleswig. The annals also show that Hermann had by no means entirely turned his back on Kloosterrade: when returning from Rome, he donated to the abbey a fragment of the inscription of the Holy Cross, which Innocent II had presented to him in Rome, and when he died his name was entered into the Kloosterrade necrology ('because his father had given so much to the church', the annalist added, pointedly).[444]

The Kloosterrade annalist put Hermann's fortunes and misfortunes in context, as part of a general line of development for the abbey, from the idealism of Ailbert's *heremitagium* to the communal triumph of Richer's *coenobium*; and from there, to chaos and back again.[445] Several struggles underlay this development, and the annalist identified the conflicting parties and factions. First, there was the conflict between reform and pragmatism, between increasing strictness and observational laxity. More important, however – and increasingly so as the narrative of the annals progresses – was the struggle of Kloosterrade itself against influence from the outside. A party of *seniores* fought to guard the hard-won customs of the community from novelties. The failed attempts of the two provosts from Springiersbach to enforce stricter observance on the canons are couched in such terms. Discord arose

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[443] *Annales Rodenses* s. a. 1125 and 1128 (ed. Pertz, pp. 705 and 707–8).

[444] *Annales Rodenses*, s. a. 1128 (ed. Pertz, p. 708): 'quod genitor illius tanta contulerat aecclesiae'.

[445] Deutz, *Geistliches und geistiges Leben*, pp. 20–22.

because Embrico and Borno wanted to change things: *ex ... rerum mutabilitate.*[446] One cannot, then, tease out from the narrative any particular ideological stance which lay behind the rejection of Hermann as provost (or abbot) of Kloosterrade. From the point of view of the annalist, unsuitable leaders were characterised primarily by their readiness to upset the harmonic Kloosterrade identity which had arisen from the merging of Ailbert's eremitical austerity and Richer's communal discipline. This kind of local patriotism, the effort put into the delimitation of one's own house's customs and institutional identity, was typical of communities of canons regular that were not part of the congregation of Prémontré, and particularly so in the west of Germany, where, unlike in Bavaria or Saxony, reform canons were not unified by large-scale episcopal initiatives.[447] It was therefore natural for the annalist to make Hermann's supporters the young members of Kloosterrade, and pit them against the old and wise. This distinction says nothing about whether Hermann left because the brothers found him, say, too strict, or too lax in his discipline. The reasons for his departure may have been non-ideological: it would perhaps be rash, given the limited evidence, to make pronouncements on Hermann's personality, but it seems clear that – while he was adept at attracting the favour and attention of the powerful – his leadership abilities left much to be desired.

It is difficult to assess whether the cases of Hermann and Ricwal – both on the run (whether voluntarily or not) from their community – somehow represent the norm for the background and recruitment of foreign clergy who came to Scandinavia in the late eleventh- or twelfth centuries. They are, however, symptomatic: Denmark opened opportunities for an important ecclesiastical career for those who had somehow made themselves uncomfortable at home. It could be haven for political refugees: Archbishop Hartwig of Magdeburg, appointed by the anti-king Rudolf of Steinfelden in 1078, fled to Denmark (with the anti-king Hermann of Salm) when

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[446] *Annales Rodenses*, s. a. 1127 (ed. Pertz, p. 707).

[447] Such as those of Reinard of Halberstadt, Conrad of Salzburg, or Otto of Freising: see Weinfurter, 'Reformkanoniker und Reichsepiskopat im Hochmittelalter'.

the imperial army entered Magdeburg in 1085.[448] A further, comparable case is that of Bishop Helias of Ribe (1142–62), formerly dean at the chapter of St Donatian's cathedral in Bruges, who seems to have made his way north after the murder, inside St Donatian's, of Count Charles the Good (the son of St Cnut, king of Denmark 1080–6; also martyred in a church), at the instigation of the cathedral provost, in 1127.[449] By 1135 he was, like Hermann, a canon at Roskilde cathedral. Like Ricwal he managed, despite a compromised background, to reach a position of considerable importance in the Danish kingdom, and set up a cathedral chapter and a school at Ribe. The administrative skills he must have acquired in Bruges doubtless helped him. Ribe cathedral chapter was reformed in the course of Helias's episcopate, and, with the aid of a visiting prior called Guichard, was regularised *secundum regulam beati Augustini.*[450]

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[448] Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, s. a. 1085 (ed. Robinson, *Die Chroniken*, p. 456; transl. id., *Eleventh-Century Germany*, p. 284); on Hartwig of Magdeburg (1079–1102), see Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg* I, 349–79.

[449] On Helias, see Gelting, 'En bispekarrier'; or the French translation: id., 'Un prélat flamand au Danemark'. There are certainly gaps in Helias's biography, but for a twelfth-century Jutish bishop, his career is remarkably well-attested. The identification with the dean of St Donatian's, whose difficulties in the civil war that followed the murder of Charles the Good were retold in some detail by Galbert of Bruges (*De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli* LXXXIII and LXXXV: ed. Rider, pp. 134 and 136–7; transl. Ross, *The Murder*, pp. 253–4 and 256–8), seems quite clear: see principally the mention in the *Chronicon ecclesiae Ripensis*: 'propter seditionem factam in Flandria per fratres suos quaesitus ad mortem [Helias] fugit in Daciam' (Jørgensen, ed., 'Ribe Bispekrønike', p. 27). Helias was embroiled in the Danish civil wars of the mid-twelfth century (and, in Saxo's appreciative account, showed remarkable ruthlessness: *Gesta Danorum*, XIV:4:9: ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg II, 172–3; see also Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica* LXXXV: ed. and transl. Stoob, pp. 298–303), and participated in the council of Pavia in 1160 (*DDan* II, no 138). During Archbishop Eskil's exile in 1161–7 he was probably the effective leader of the Danish episcopate (Gelting, 'En bispekarrier', p. 9), and there is no mistaking Eskil's spite in the vicious account he gave of Helias's death to the monk Herbert at Clairvaux in 1179 (ed. L. Weibull in *NH* II, 397–8).

[450] *Chronicon ecclesiae Ripensis*: Jørgensen, ed., 'Ribe Bispekrønike', p. 28; Helias's son became the chapter's particularly strict archdeacon. On Helias's activities at Ribe, see Gelting, 'En bispekarriere', pp. 10–12; or id., 'Un prélat flamand au Danemark', pp. 173–5.

Also as an excommunicate cleric, who was nonetheless able to remain in office in Scandinavia, Ricwal of Lund was not unique: in fact, Anselm of Canterbury, writing in the early years of the twelfth century, identified his situation as a general problem. He addressed his words to Ricwal's successor, Asser, recently elected the first archbishop of Lund:

> I ask of your holiness, that you, by your holy zeal, cleanse that kingdom from apostates, so that no foreigner may receive any ecclesiastical order there, because those who have been driven away by their own bishops go there, and are consecrated to various orders in execrable fashion.[451]

His concerns were no doubt sincere, even if his suggested solution was unrealistic. As shown by several examples above, the post-missionary generations of foreign clergy could benefit from the relative lack of central control which characterised peripheral Christendom, and from the great distance (particularly north of Denmark) which separated them from a homeland where they might have run into problems, or found themselves incapable of accommodating their careers to the conventional or the expected. Thus, Anselm was not merely perpetuating stereotypes of Scandinavian barbarity. The same applies to Adam of Bremen's observation about the great material prospects of a Scandinavian career: Ricwal of Lund and Helias of Ribe came to have considerable resources at their disposal. In most of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, this was a time of rapid and well-funded expansion for the church; a high-medieval *Aufbruch* if there ever was one. It is important, however, to question Adam's (and Anselm's) deduction that such clerics were necessarily *mali doctores*. They may have sat uncomfortably in the systems and hierarchies which Adam's and Anselm's generations were trying to define and enforce, but to succeed

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[451] Anselm of Canterbury, Ep. 447 (Schmitt, ed., *Anselmi opera omnia* V, 394–5; my translation is slightly different from Frölich, transl. *The Letters of St. Anselm* III, 230–1): 'Rogo sanctitatem vestram, quatenus regnum illud vestro sancto studio emundetis ab apostatis, ut nullus alienigena ibi recipiat aliquem ecclesiasticum ordinem, quia illi qui ab episcopis suis repelluntur, illuc pergunt et execrabiliter ad diversos ordines sacrantur'. See also below, p. 168–77.

they had to be adaptable, ambitious, enterprising, and intelligent. As often as not, they may have been active proponents of reform and new forms of canonical life.

A final example comes from Sweden. The practical consequences of Hamburg-Bremen's policy towards Sweden after the death of Adalbert in 1072 are elusive. Scattered references in annalistic and diplomatic material from various German centres can give only fragmentary glimpses. The earliest comes from Adalbero's first Roman expedition, to the First Lateran Council in 1123. This is the account of the so-called *Annalista Saxo*:

> Adalbero, canonically elected as archbishop of Bremen after Frederick, who had died on 30 January, goes to Rome to claim the dignity of the pallium. There he is honourably received by the apostolic lord Callixtus, is consecrated archbishop by him and, at a synod, by canonical and juridical order, obtained the pallium, lost through the negligence of his two predecessors and transferred to the Danes. The church of Bremen, ancient indeed and noble, held sovereignty by metropolitan right over the Danes, and the Swedes, and the Norwegians, and the *Scrideuingos*. The lord pope also added this right: that the prelate of the aforesaid church should have the unrestrained license of preaching as far as the land in those regions extends towards the ocean. When this had happened, the lord pope also added to his honour by consecrating a certain cleric of good *conversatio*, who had come with [Adalbero] to Rome, bishop for the Swedes. Afterwards, [Adalbero] returns to his homeland, accompanied by a cardinal, a *vir religiosus*, who by decree of the apostolic lord was to declare to all Danish bishops that they should obey [Adalbero] as their metropolitan.[452]

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[452] *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo*, s. a. 1123 (ed. Naß, p. 577): 'Adalbero Bremensis archiepiscopus post Fridericum, qui III kal. Februarii obi erat, canonice electus pro reposcenda pallii dignitate Romam vadit. Ibi a domno apostolico Calixto honorifice excipitur, in archiepiscopum ab eo consecratur habitaque sinodo canonico et iudiciario ordine pallium obtinuit negligentia duorum antecessorum suorum amissum et in Danos translatum. Antiqua enim et nobilis illa Bremensis

It seems, then, that Adalbero had begun to attempt to regain the initiative in terms of Scandinavian episcopal appointments already in 1123.[453] The fate of this learned cleric (*conversatio* is difficult to translate, but should probably be taken to refer to behaviour or manners, rather than just conversational abilities) is uncertain, but some years later, a churchman with Hamburg-Bremen affiliations, who had been in Sweden, appeared in Germany. This was Siward, mentioned above in chapter two.[454] He called himself bishop of Uppsala. Whether he was identical with the cleric appointed by Callixtus II in 1123 can only be guessed, but it is a frequent scholarly assumption. The annals of the abbey of Disibodenberg on the Nahe, a

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ecclesia iure metropolitano super Danos et Suethos et Norwegon et Scrideuingos principatum habuit. Addidit quoque domnus papa hanc auctoritatem, ut predicte ecclesie pontifex liberam predicandi licendiam habeat, quosque terra ad oceanum versus partes illas extenditur. His ita actis in hoc quoque domnus papa honorem sibi adauxit, quod quendam bone conversationis clericum, qui secum Romam venerat, Suethis episcopum ordinavit. Post ad patriam remeat addito sibi cardinale viro religioso, qui ex decreto domni apostolico omnibus Datie episcopis, ut ei sicut metropolitano obedirent, ediceret'.

[453] Cf. the objections of Wolfgang Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 137 and 209–10, who has argued that part of the entry had been mistakenly transferred from 1133, as this was the year in which Adalbero undoubtedly did find papal favour for his Scandinavian ambitions, and as there is no other evidence of a cardinal travelling to Denmark or Lower Saxony in this period. Instead, the legate referred to should be Cardinal Martin, sent by Innocent II (a Cistercian monk: the designation as *vir religiosus* would, according to Seegrün, support this: ibid., p. 209). Certainly, this version of the events seems neater; but, at least according to this reader, that is only another reason to distrust it. In addition, the date of Cardinal Martin's Danish expedition is disputed, and the most plausible suggestion (by Lauritz Weibull: *DDan* II, no. 55) is in or soon before 1132. It is of course possible that some of the language of the Saxon annalist (writing in 1148×52) may reflect later circumstances. It is generally agreed that the passage has an earlier source, usually taken to be the lost so-called Paderborn annals (ingeniously reconstructed by Paul Scheffer-Boichorst in 1870: *Annales Patherbrunnenses*, p. 143), but otherwise only the first two sentences ('Adalbero ... translatum') recur in a surviving twelfth-century text earlier than that of the Annalista Saxo: *Annales Hildesheimenses*, s. a. 1123 (ed. Waitz, p. 66). This is no reason to doubt the appointment of a bishop 'for the Swedes' in 1123, however. On the 'Paderborn annals' and their relationship to the Annalista Saxo, see Naß, *Der Reichskronik*, pp. 209–27 and Schmale, '"Padberborner" oder "Korveyer" Annalen?'.

[454] See above, pp. 50–4. On Siward, see Kleberg, *Medeltida Uppsalabibliotek I*; Johnsen, '"Siwardus episcopus ubsallensis"'; Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, pp. 56–8.

tributary of the Rhine, have the following to tell of his activities in 1138 (the name of his see slightly mangled), at the time of a vacancy at the archiepiscopal see of Mainz:

> The altar of the confessors, placed in the northern aisle of the church of the new monastery [of St Disibod], was dedicated by lord Siward, *episcopus Debsalensi* [sic], to the honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of all confessor saints, but expressly to St Clement the pope, and SS Martin and Nicholas the bishops. That venerable prelate, unjustly expelled from his church, came to the bishopric of Mainz; and since at that time it lacked a prelate, he consecrated many churches and altars there, by license of the church of Mainz. In the same year, and on the same day, the altar of St Benedict, positioned behind the tomb of St Disibod, was dedicated by the aforementioned prelate, to the honour of St Benedict and of all confessor saints. In the same year, on 26 February, the altar in the southern aisle was dedicated by the same bishop, to the honour of SS John the Evangelist, Margaret, Agatha, and Lucy, and of all virgins. This occurred under lord Cuno, the fourth abbot of St Disibod's.[455]

In 1140, Siward consecrated the church of the Premonstratensian abbey of Postel in the diocese of Utrecht.[456] He witnessed charters of Archbishop Adalbero's in 1141

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[455] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, s. a. 1138 (ed. Waitz, p. 25): 'Dedicatum est altare confessorum in sanctuario novi monasterii [Disibodenberg] ad aquilonarem plagam situm de domino Siwardo Debsalensi episcopo, in honorem domini nostri Ihesu Christi et omnium confessorum, sed nominatim sancti Clementis papae, sancti Martini et Nycolai episcoporum. Qui venerabilis praesul ab ecclesia sua iniuste expulsus, venit in episcopatum Moguntinum; quoniamque eo tempore praesule caruit, multas inibi ecclesias et altaria licentia Moguntinae ecclesiae consecravit. Eodem anno et eodem die dedicatum est altare sancti Benedicti retro tumbam sancti Dysibodi positum a praedicto praesule, in honorem sancti Benedicti et omnium confessorum. Ipso anno 4. Kal. Martii dedicatum est altare in sanctuario ad australem plagam situm ab eodem episcopo, in honorem sancti Iohannis ewangelistae, Margarethae, Agathae et Luciae et omnium sanctarum virginum. Acta sunt haec sub domino Cunone Sancti Dysibodi quarto abbate'.

[456] Welvaarts, *Geschiedenis der abdij van Postel*, p. 29; Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, p. 56.

(in the company of Occo of Schleswig) and 1142. After his death, he was – most interestingly – commemorated by the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, where his name appears in a number of necrologies, from the first half of the thirteenth century, into the late middle ages (still as *Siwardus episcopus Obsalensis*).[457] In the earliest of these necrologies, his name appears in the column reserved for members of the Christ Church priory – a likely indication of his origin, but also evidence of some form of contact with Canterbury at a later stage. The most detailed source to the later years of Siward's life is otherwise a chronicle of the Benedictine abbey of Rastede, near Oldenburg, where he appears to have settled (according to the chronicle in around 1130×34) and eventually become abbot.[458] The most valuable part of this text, the list of twenty-six books and liturgical vestments for a bishop and his helpers donated by Siward on his entry to the abbey, was discussed above in chapter two. The rest provides some more information about his activities in Germany, but the chronicle is late and the narrative at times confused.[459]

The still-visible fragments of Siward's life and activities are intriguing. The list of donations to Rastede gives the picture of a learned man, with considerable resources: if he could travel with twenty-six books, a portable altar, and vestments for himself and his helpers, he must have had been accompanied by a serious entourage. The example of Siward also shows how Hamburg-Bremen, by the central decades of the

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[457] As noted by Johnsen: '"Siwardus episcopus ubsallensis"', p. 29. The earliest necrology, in London, BL, Cotton Nero C. ix, from 1216×40, has been edited by Robin Fleming: 'Christchurch's Sisters and Brothers', pp. 130–48, with Siward on p. 144. See also Boutemy, 'Two Obituaries'. The international affiliations of the necrology are mostly French; there are a couple of Italian exceptions, and on 9 March King Sverre of Norway is commemorated as 'frater et benefactor' (ed. Fleming, 'Christchurch's Sisters and Brothers', p. 135).

[458] *Historia monasterii Rastedensis* (ed. Waitz, pp. 502–4). It dates from the early fourteenth century.

[459] Most notably, Adalbero of Hamburg-Bremen is confused with Adalbert, which results in a remarkably tortuous chronology (ibid., pp. 496 and 502). The phrase that has attracted the most attention in the chronicle is the assertion that when Siward came to Rastede from Uppsala, *per insolentiam paganorum expulsus, de Ybernia, que est insula Anglie* (ibid., p. 502). Does this strengthen the hypothesis that he was English by origin? Or was he in fact Irish? Or did the chronicler mean that he had come to Rastede from Sweden via Ireland?

twelfth century, could still tie to itself travelling figures of the kind which Adalbert seems to have been so adept at attracting almost a century earlier, and in this case possibly an English Benedictine monk. Siward's activities in northern and western Germany in the years around 1140 fascinate in particular: they are testament to a highly personal, charismatic kind of authority, unsupported, as far as it is possible to tell, by the ties and allegiances of a locality, or the structures of a 'national' church. That he should have been allowed to fill in for the archbishop of Mainz is remarkable: it was not only *in extremis finibus mundi*, but also in the most venerable of all German dioceses that a man such as Siward, claiming to be the bishop of a see with a name which must have meant nothing to the vast majority of the people he encountered (there is no evidence of a bishop of or at Uppsala before Siward), could attract attention and be given highly important responsibilities. The Scandinavian church may have offered great possibilities to clergy of an unstable, irregular background, but it was no haven for mediocrities.

3:3. Summary of Conclusions

Georg Dehio, in his classic history of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, described the consequences of the elevation of Bishop Asser of Lund to archiepiscopal dignity as follows:

> And thus, again, the Hamburg archbishop and the German king both suffered great losses from the fact that nations were beginning to find their ideal *Einigungspunkt*, not in the empire, but in the papacy.[460]

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[460] Dehio, *Geschichte* II, 22–3: 'Und so verloren der Hamburgische Erzbischof und der deutsche König auch wieder gleich viel daran, daß die Nationen ihren idealen Einigungspunkt nicht mehr im Kaisertum, sondern im Paptsttum zu finden begannen'.

Scandinavia and the Empire, respectively, were the 'winners and losers'.[461] *Prima facie*, it seems a reasonable assessment, particularly if one believes that 'the formation of first one, followed by three Scandinavian church provinces was ... an anti-Imperial effort'; that, already by the mid-eleventh century, 'the Nordic powers were tied up on the Reformist-papacy side, in some sort of coalition surrounding the Empire'; and that the Scandinavian church from its beginnings had been part of a long-standing political project, with state-formation in ('the political'?) mind: 'the political will towards national unification was ... the deciding factor in the formal acceptance of Christianity'.[462] But why was it, then, that the most significant demonstrations of German imperial superiority towards a Scandinavian kingdom, beginning with the intervention of Lothar of Süpplingenburg in Denmark in 1134, occurred only several decades later? In the preceding century or so, the emperor and the imperial office seem to have enjoyed some measure of prestige among Danish kings, but that imperial prestige could be used also Danish royal advantage. There is little reason to believe that either the Salians or the Danish kings at any point regarded each other as threats. If the Salians had a 'foreign policy', Scandinavia hardly figured within it at all. The rise of Lothar, already entangled in Scandinavian affairs as duke of Saxony, was the starting-point for something different. Admittedly, in some ways, the Hamburg-Bremen archbishops of the eleventh century could be seen as representatives of an 'imperial church'. Both in Adam of Bremen's chronicle and in the archdiocese's infamously unreliable charter production, Hamburg's special status as the evangeliser of the north was justified by a strong association with Rome – as a centre of both imperial and papal ideology. This added to the confusion of Liemar's relations with the Gregorian papacy in the

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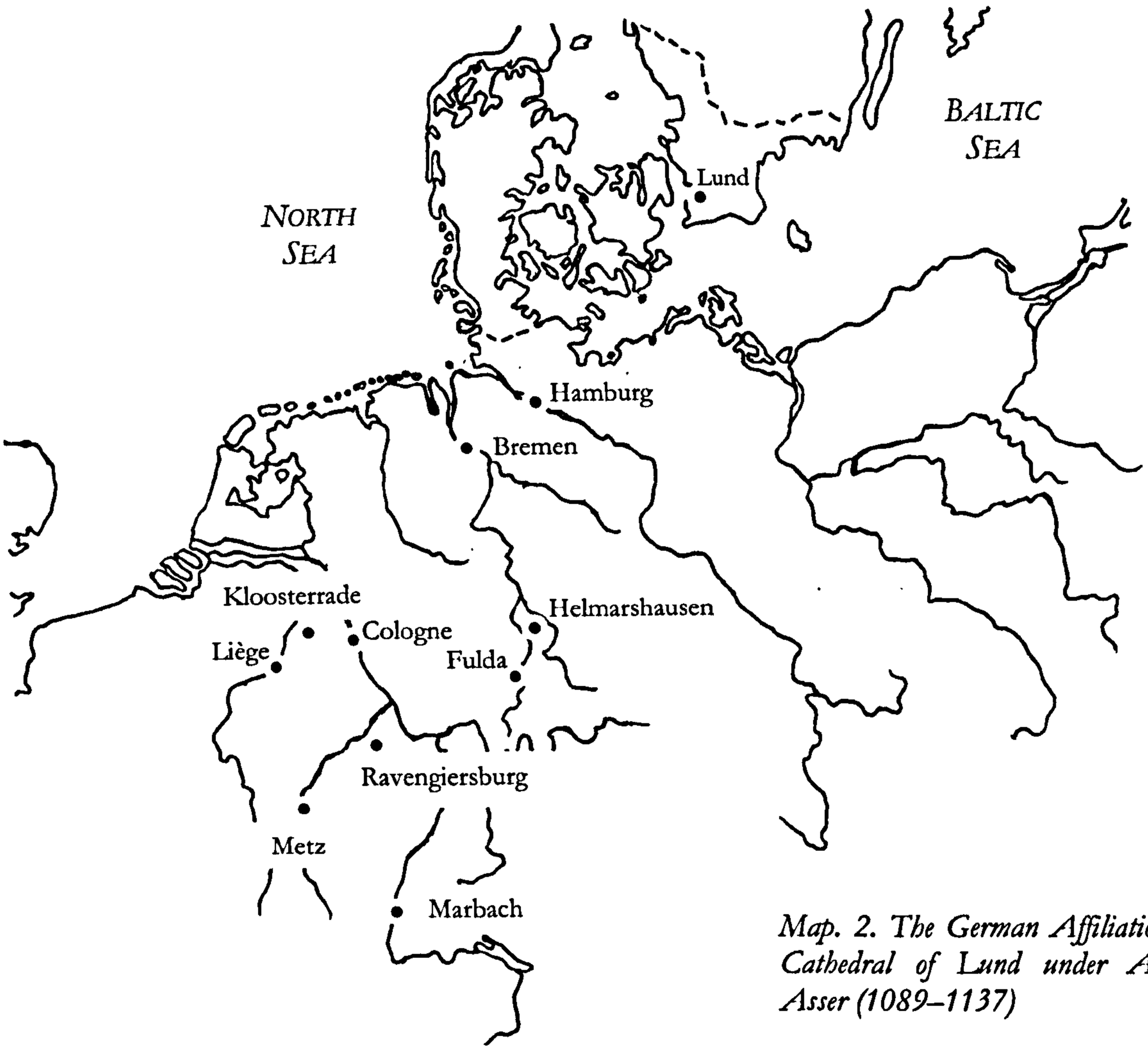
[461] von Padberg, 'Der Abschluss der Missionsphase in Skandinavien', p. 472: 'Es gab also Sieger und Verlierer'.

[462] Blomkvist, 'Is the Europeanization of the Baltic a *Conjoncture* or a Phenomenon of the *Longue Durée*?', p. 13; the idea of a north-eastern 'anti-Salian alliance' comes from Janson, *Templum nobilissimum*, pp. 105–75. The quotation about the 'political will towards national unification' (always a problematic subject) is from von Padberg, 'Der Abschluss der Missionsphase in Skandinavien', p. 476: 'Die politische Wille zu nationaler Einigung ... war der entscheinde Faktor bei der formellen Annahme des Christentums'.

1070s. If, however, the term 'imperial church' is taken as equivalent to the *Reichskirche* of traditional German scholarship, it seems highly inappropriate. The elements usually taken as characteristic of the *Reichskirche* are, in fact, even more elusive in the case of Hamburg-Bremen than in other German dioceses. Liemar explicitly stated that his Danish suffragans were not part of a German church. The recruitment and appointment of missionary bishops functioned quite outside the framework supposedly associated with the *Reichskirche*. The reality of imperialism was not always in step with the ideology: in material terms, it was long before the cathedral at Bremen had developed the necessary resources to train and control its suffragans, and Adalbert's grandiose endeavours would have looked rather paltrier in reality than on parchment. The special skill of the most successful of the Hamburg-Bremen archbishops, Unwan and Adalbert, lay only in part in equipping and controlling the episcopate (in the eventual expulsion of Osmund of Sweden, for example; or in the submission of Gerbrand of Roskilde). Most important, however, was their ability to attract clerics willing to take up office in Scandinavia. In many cases, these clerics appear to have begun their career in unusual circumstances: their careers were rootless, divorced from the conventional and the expected. Such figures, sometimes with Hamburg-Bremen's support, sometimes to its considerable displeasure, continued to appear in Scandinavia throughout the period under consideration in this thesis. They took advantage of the great resources available in the rapidly expanding church, and offered in return the particular competence and authority which had enabled them to achieve prominence in distinctly foreign, and sometimes difficult circumstances (a 'frontier zone' perhaps, if not in a colonial sense). The sources, which tell almost only of bishops, make it difficult to come to any certain conclusions about imported clergy in eleventh- and twelfth-century Scandinavia, but with personal mobility and opportunities for contact at a steady gradual increase, these observations, in all likelihood, can be extended beyond the episcopal class.



Map. 2. The German Affiliations of the Cathedral of Lund under Archbishop Asser (1089–1137)

4. The German Affiliations of the Cathedral of Lund under Archbishop Asser (1089–1137)[463]

Introduction

In 1089, following the death of Bishop Ricwal of Lund, a member of the Danish aristocratic elite called Asser was elected as his successor.[464] Not much is known about his background, apart from his illustrious family connections.[465] His long period in office (he died in 1137) indicates that he was a young man at the time of his accession – at least there are no references to exceptional longevity in the sources.[466] Narrative sources to his episcopate are relatively few, however, and the summary assessments of Asser's career that have survived are inevitably tainted by hindsight, and sometimes by the bitterness of his last few years in office, culminating in the battle of Fotevik on 4 June 1134, where four of the eight Danish bishops were killed, and another mortally wounded.[467] Soon after Asser's death, the author of the Roskilde Chronicle judged him 'a harsh and bitter man, wise yet of no firmness of character. Even when the kingdom was in such disorder, he never put himself up as a battlement for the house of Israel, but – wherever the wind blew –

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[463] For a preliminary, shorter version of this chapter, see Niblaeus, 'The German Affiliations'.

[464] For a convenient if old-fashioned introduction to Asser in English, see Christensen, 'Archbishop Asser, the Emperor and the Pope'.

[465] On Asser's family background, see the annotated Christiansen, transl., *Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum regum heroumque* I, 271–2.

[466] On the length of episcopal careers in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Parisse, 'The Bishop: Prince and Prelate', pp. 19–20.

[467] Also a Swedish bishop in exile, Henry of Sigtuna, was killed, as was a canon of the cathedral of Lund, the subdeacon Brant: L. Weibull, ed., *NL*, p. 75. The battle horrified contemporaries, and there were rumours circulating in Saxony that as many as sixty members of the clergy had perished: *Die Reichskronik des Annalista Saxo* s. a. 1134 (ed. Nass, p. 597). See also the horrified lament of the *Chronicon Roskildense* XV (Gertz, ed., *SM* I, 29): 'Heu crudelis annus, dies amara, dies mortis, dies tenebrarum, doloribus plena, singultibus onerata!'

turned like a reed stirred by the breeze'.[468] The Roskilde Chronicle is traditionally associated with Asser's nephew and successor Eskil (bishop of Roskilde since 1134), and even if the exact authorship is unknown, it is at least clear that the chronicler's view is representative of a new generation, proudly principled, uncompromising, and insistently wary of the sacred separateness of the clergy from the world.[469] If the opinion is Eskil's it is also, importantly, the opinion of a young man: posterity's judgment of Eskil's similarly long episcopate (1138–77) would be just as dismissive of his monkish aloofness in old age. Saxo Grammaticus, whose ideal bishop was a crusader and a man of action, mocked Eskil with heavy sarcasm, and, on the occasion of his retirement to become a monk at Clairvaux, made him speak with ridiculously affected senile piety.[470] On the other hand, Saxo's judgment of Asser was very positive, and he was celebrated as assisting King Erik Ejegod (1095–1103) in liberating the Danish church from 'Saxon primacy, so that [the king] need not obey foreigners in matters of religion, or find it necessary to apply to aliens in matters of doctrine': in 1103, after some years of negotiations with both pope and emperor, King Erik had obtained papal sanction to create a Danish metropolitan see.[471] By the following year, Asser had received the pallium. Saxo's appraisal is only one of the reasons to beware of dismissing Asser as somehow old-school or

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[468] *Chronicon Roskildense* XV (Gertz, ed., *SM* I, 28): 'Iste primus archiepiscopus in Dania et in Swethia et in Norwegia extitit, <uir> acer et amarus, et sapiens et nullius constancie. Hic in tanta perturbatione regni se murum pro domo Israel non opponebat, sed, quocunque aura flabat, ut arundo uento agitata illuc se uertebat'.

[469] For a recent assessment of the objectives and ideals of the Roskilde chronicler, see Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde', pp. 181–4 and 197–8.

[470] Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XIV:55 (ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg, II, 457–67); Eric Christiansen has caught the tone well in his English translation: *Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum regum heroumque* II, 564–70. On Eskil's reputation among twentieth-century scholars, see McGuire, 'Why Scandinavia?', p. 252; on Saxo's ideal bishop, see Friis-Jensen, 'Saxo Grammaticus's Portrait of Archbishop Absalon'.

[471] Saxo, *Gesta* XII:5:2 (ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg, II, 72–3; Christiansen, transl., *Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum regum heroumque* I, 98): '[P]atriam ac domestica sacra Saxonica prælatione liberari petivit, ne religionis ratione exteris admodum obsequi cogeretur aut eius disciplinam ab alienigenis petere necesse haberet'.

spineless. A contemporary of Asser's, the Icelandic poet Markús Skeggjason (d. 1107), was similarly triumphant (without the xenophobia) in his *Eiríksdrápa*:[472]

> The energetic lord [= King Erik] had an archbishopric established in Denmark a short way from Lund [sic], which all the people of the ruler's land worship in the Danish tongue. The prince advanced the holy kingdom; one can hear that the very capable [Asser] was ordained bishop; the trier of freeholders [= God] shows him the path to the heavens.[473]

Two glimpses of Asser's episcopate come from non-Scandinavian sources: the first is Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury's letter to Asser congratulating him on receiving the pallium, urging him to 'correct what is to be corrected, build what is to be built, and support what is to be supported' in the Danish kingdom, apparently beset by apostates.[474] I have cited and discussed the remainder of the letter, on the recruitment of foreign excommunicated clergy to the Scandinavian church, above, in chapter three. The other glimpse is from Herbord of Michelsberg's biography of St Otto, bishop of Bamberg 1102–1139, written in 1159. Otto has sent an embassy to Lund to negotiate about planned missionary work on the island of Rügen, under Danish metropolitan authority.

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[472] On whether or not Saxo can be described as xenophobic, see above, pp. 80–1.

[473] Ed. and transl. J. Carroll, in Gade, ed., *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 2* I, 454 (the (Icelandic) name forms have been adjusted in the translation above):

'Dróttum lét í Danmörk settan, Hildingr framði heilagt veldi;
döglings grundar, skammt frá Lundi hvargegnan má Özur fregna
erkistól, þanns öll þjóð dýrkar, – hónum vísar hölða reynir
eljunþungr, á danska tungu. himna stíg – til biskups vígðan.'

See also in its prosimetric context: *Knýtlinga saga* LXXX (Bjarni Guðnason, ed., *Danakonunga sögur*, pp. 234–5; Edwards and Hermann Pálsson, transl., *Knytlinga saga*, p. 120).

[474] Anselm of Canterbury, Ep. 447 (Schmitt, ed., *Anselmi opera omnia* V, 394; Frölich, transl. *The Letters of St. Anselm* III, 230): 'Confidimus enim quia gratia dei cooperante ea quae corrigenda sunt corrigetis, et quae aedificanda aedificabitis, et quae nutrienda nutrietis'.

> The archbishop received the messengers with great joy and honour indeed, and, while they were staying with him, very politely asked them many questions about the health, works and teachings of the blessed Otto. He was a good and artless man, a keen listener to good things, not bad in scholarship and religion, but in his looks of Slavic rusticity. For the men of that land are such that, despite great plenty and riches, they look like rude peasants living in general harshness. Towns and castles are without towers or walls, protected by no more than wooden fences and ditches; churches and houses of the high-born are slight and of paltry design. The men practise hunting and fishing, or raise cattle, and this indeed yields all their wealth, because the cultivation of fields is uncommon there. Furthermore their manner and appearance are of little merit or elegance: our unremarkable men looked glorious in comparison with them. Indeed, Ivan the priest seemed worthier than the archbishop himself.[475]

The passage is interesting, but problematic. The 'Slavic rusticity' of Asser's exterior already gives it away: this is the language of cliché and prejudice, and one senses the stereotype of the impressively wealthy but uncouth viking behind Herbord's dismissal of the inelegant Danes. Nevertheless, Herbord's description exposes a fundamental tension behind Asser's Lund, which can be applied to the whole Scandinavian church in this period: between the enthusiasm of its clergy and

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[475] Weinrich, ed., *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slawischen Geschichte*, pp. 470–2: 'Archiepiscopus vero in maximo gaudio et honore legatos accepit habitisque apud se multa humanitate plurima de statu, de doctrina et operibus beati Ottonis percontabatur. Erat autem vir bonus et simplex, bonarum rerum cupidus auditor, non mediocris scientie ac religionis, in exterioribus tamen Slavice rusticitatis. Nam et homines terre illius tales sunt, ut in maxima ubertate atque divitiis generali quadam duritia omnes inculti videantur et agrestes. Urbes ibi et castra sine muro et turribus ligno tantum et fossatis muniuntur, ecclesie ac domus nobilium humiles et vili scemate. Studia hominum aut venacia aut piscacio est vel pecorum pastura. In his etenim omnes divicie illorum consistunt, siquidem agrorum cultus rarus ibi est. Porro in victu vel in habitu vestium parum lauti habent aut pulchritudinis. Nostri ergo mediocres in conparacione illorum gloriosi erant. Iwanus vero presbiter archiepiscopo se ipso maior esse videbatur'.

supporters, and its, by fully 'Europeanised' European standards, very unsophisticated appearance. To an outsider, it seemed 'primitive' in two senses: paltry and basic, but also at an early stage in its salvational history, a theatre for martyrdom and apostolic heroics, untainted by decadence.[476]

In this case, it is also possible at least to begin to compare the description with the actual conditions in which Asser worked: Lund, as a university town, has not only been guaranteed extensive attention from historians, but also benefitted from a number of archaeological excavations. The material history of its medieval churches is therefore comparatively well-known. Lund and the province of Scania were in fact a notable success story of Scandinavian Christianity. By the 1070s, some three hundred churches had been built in Scania, claimed Adam of Bremen. It was 'the province of Denmark fairest to look upon ... well provided with men, opulent of crops, rich in merchandise'.[477] The region seems to have received a marked increase in royal attention around eighty years earlier, under King Sven Forkbeard, who founded the town of Lund, and built a church there, presumably the wooden predecessor of the church of the Holy Trinity, which was begun some decades later.[478] Under Sven and his son Cnut the Great, Lund became an important beneficiary of the great political and economic changes in Denmark that followed the conquest of England.[479] At an early stage, in 995 or even before, Sven imported

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[476] See also the views of Adam of Bremen, discussed above, pp. 134–5.

[477] Adam, *Gesta* IV:7 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 234; transl. Tschan, p. 191): 'pulcherrima visu Daniae provintia ... armata viris, opulenta frugibus divesque mercibus'. Whether Adam's numbers are correct is debatable, but they seem fairly plausible: Anglert, *Kyrkor och herravälde*, p. 59; many of the estimated three hundred churches were probably more-or-less private chapels, however.

[478] Probably in the 1020s or 1030s: the stone church was demolished in 1537, but the church remains were excavated carefully in a number of projects over the period 1961–1984, together with the fascinating, large cemeteries surrounding them. Only post-holes remain of the tenth-century wooden church: M. Cinthio, 'Trinitatiskyrkan' and ead., *De första stadsborna*, pp. 15–100; and ibid., pp. 9–11, with references, for an overview of the archaeologists who have worked on the site and their results.

[479] On urbanisation and the consolidation of royal authority in eastern Denmark in the eleventh century, see Andrén, *Den urbana scenen*, pp. 72–7.

Anglo-Saxon moneyers, and chose to establish the first Scandinavian mint in Lund. By the mid-eleventh century, the town had grown, and at least eight wooden churches were built during the reign of Adam's principal Danish informant, King Sven Estridsen (1042–76). By that time stood also the large, ambitious church of the Holy Trinity, and north of it the more modest stone churches of St Lawrence and St Clement.[480] At some point St Lawrence's became the episcopal church (there had been a bishop resident in Lund since at least 1060), and under Bishop Ricwal (1072–89) it expanded: in 1085, King Cnut IV (1080–6) made a foundational donation to the church, and endowed it with nine prebends of various degrees, and a cathedral provostry.[481] Ricwal's cathedral was still being built at the time. It is now only known from excavations: a new cathedral was built under Asser.[482] The high altar in the crypt of the new cathedral was consecrated in 1123, but the church as a whole only finished, and consecrated, in 1145.[483] Over the course of Asser's episcopate, the city's wooden churches were gradually replaced by stone buildings, and new churches were constructed: by the mid-twelfth century, Lund contained as many as twenty-one churches within the city walls, and one just outside.[484]

This remarkable thickening of the city's ecclesiastical topography was, thus, achieved over a relatively short time. Quite why so many churches were built in Lund in the century between 1050 and 1150 remains mysterious: scholars have proposed that the churches were merchant churches, or the result of an entirely idealistic, sacral-symbolic planned development. Both of these models have been convincingly rejected by Anders Andrén, who has instead proposed that the multiplicity of centres in twelfth-century Lund was a result of the decentralisation and fragmenting of local power which followed the assertion of stronger royal power in eastern Denmark. He has called the result, marked by plurality and openness,

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[480] M. Cinthio, *De första stadsborna*, pp. 23–7.

[481] L. Weibull, 'Skånes kyrka', pp. 162–4; see also Skansjö and Sundström, ed., *Gåvobrevet 1085*.

[482] On Ricwal's cathedral, see E. Cinthio, *Lunds domkyrka under romansk tid*, pp. 13–42.

[483] Ibid., pp. 45–197.

[484] Andrén, *Den urbana scenen*, p. 34.

where the demarcation between the rural and urban populations was unclear, a 'congested countryside'.[485] The city, in this respect, was only a more densely settled version of the surrounding rural areas, where large numbers of churches were being built at the same time. Some of Andrén's argument relies on an analytical framework of feudalisation which, after the trenchant criticism such models have suffered in the past decades, seems overly systematic.[486] The idea of the congested countryside is, however, compelling. The otherness of Lund's topography compared to a German episcopal city can help to explain some of the reaction of Otto of Bamberg's ambassadors to what was, after all, a thriving ecclesiastical centre.[487]

So far, background and contrast. The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to another aspect of Asser's episcopate (and archiepiscopate): the books surviving from his cathedral chapter. Ten codices in total dating from up until the mid-twelfth century survive from Lund, and the collection is of almost self-evident centrality for any assessment of the Scandinavian church in the central middle ages. It is the only twelfth-century centre from which enough complete books have survived to give any impression of how the earliest Scandinavian libraries were created and developed. Among the books are both locally produced and imported manuscripts. They do not testify to any serious literary ambitions the Lund canons might have had, but for the historian, palaeographer, art historian, or liturgist, they can yield a great deal of information. The collection has received considerable scholarly attention, if perhaps not as much as one would expect, given its importance: it may be that Lund's slightly awkward historiographical position, perched between Danish and Swedish traditions, is to blame.[488] With one exception (the gospel book Uppsala,

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[485] Ibid., pp. 33–43 and 65–86.

[486] On feudalism, see Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*.

[487] See, for background, Leudemann, *Deutsche Bischofsstädte im Mittelalter*; and, on medieval towns and cities characterised by plurality and without one or two obvious centres, Hall, *Mittelalterliche Stadtgrundrisse*, pp. 62–78.

[488] For the best modern overview, see Ekström, *Lunds domkyrkas äldsta liturgiska böcker* (including a complete English translation). Among earlier discussions L. Weibull, *Bibliotek och arkiv i Skåne under medeltiden*, pp. 112–14; Nielsen, *Danmarks middelalderlige haandskrifter*, pp. 27–48.

Universitetsbiblioteket, C. 83), the manuscripts are all available in facsimile, digital or printed. Most of the manuscripts are now in Lund University Library, and have recently been catalogued, in English.[489] They are listed below.

1. The earliest Lund chapter book (*Necrologium Lundense*): Lund, UB, Mh 6.[490]

   Germany and Lund, s. xi–xii[1/3]. Compilation manuscript in three parts; fols. 58v–82v in a German hand of s. xi. Probably compiled in 1123, and in use until 1145.

2. *Liber daticus Lundensis vetustior*: Lund, UB, Mh 7.[491]

   Lund, 1139x46, probably 1145.

3. Gospel books

   3.1. Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C. 83.[492]

   Helmarshausen, s. xii med.

   3.2. Copenhagen, DKB, Thott 22 4°.[493]

   Germany?, s. xi.

   3.3. Copenhagen, DKB, Thott 21 4°.[494]

   Lund, s. xii med.

4. Epistolaries

   4.1. Lund, UB, Mh 2.[495]

   Diocese of Liège, s. xii in.

   4.2. Lund, UB, Mh 5.[496]

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[489] The catalogue is only available in digital format: see the St Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library at http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/.

[490] Edited by L. Weibull: *NL*; printed facsimile: Kroman, ed., *Necrologium Lundense*; electronic facsimile and detailed description at http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/volumes/Mh_6/.

[491] Electronic facsimile and detailed description at http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/volumes/Mh_7/.

[492] See Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala* II, 102–3; Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, pp. 41–2; and further, below, pp. 187–8.

[493] Electronic facsimile at http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/67/eng/; see further Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum latinorum* p. 11; Ekström, *Lunds domkyrkas äldsta liturgiska böcker*, pp. 50–1 and below, pp. 188–9.

[494] Electronic facsimile at http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/50/eng/. See further Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum latinorum*, p. 11, Ekström. *Lunds domkyrkas äldsta liturgiska böcker*, pp. 64–9, and below, pp. 188.

[495] Electronic facsimile and detailed description at http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/volumes/Mh_2/.

Lund, s. xii med.

5. The Colbaz Annals: Berlin, Staatbibliothek, Theol. 149 2°.[497]

Lund, around 1150 (main text); in Colbaz abbey from c. 1170.

6. Psalter with commentaries: Lund, UB, Mh 4.[498]

France? s xii med.

7. The Book of Genesis, glossed: Lund, UB, Mh 3.[499]

France? s. xii med.–xii^2.

The last two glossed books are typical of the kind of Parisian learning that Archbishop Eskil, who had been trained in Hildesheim but later seems to have had mostly French intellectual interests (and spent considerable time in exile in France), brought to Lund, and will not be discussed here. Some of the other manuscripts may well post-date Asser's episcopate by a few years, but their interest for the present chapter will be apparent in the discussion below. I have considered the books' relevance within the context of my thesis; that is, I have been looking for evidence of interaction with various German centres, to see how the heritage from the Hamburg-Bremen metropolitanate and influence from other Continental religious houses were welded with Danish innovation to forge a new diocesan identity. In this respect, my argument follows in the footsteps of Ewert Wrangel's art history of Lund cathedral from 1923 and Ellen Jørgensen's investigation of foreign influence on the early Danish medieval church from 1908. The latter work is a late representative of the kind of eclectic cultural history which dominated late nineteenth-century Scandinavian medievalism, was marginalised by source-critical positivism in the earlier decades of the twentieth century, and now often seems

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[496] Electronic facsimile and detailed description at http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/volumes/Mh_5/.

[497] See the facsimile edition in Kroman, ed., *Annales*; the text of the Colbaz annals has been edited several times: the most recent is in Jørgensen, ed., *Annales Danici*, pp. 39–43; only one edition includes the accompanying calendar, however, but even that is far from complete: Prümers, ed., *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, pp. 467–96. For an introduction to the Colbaz annals and calendar, see L. Weibull, 'Annalerna og kalendariet fra Colbaz' and Rosenstock, 'Colbazårbogen'.

[498] Electronic facsimile and detailed description at http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/volumes/Mh_4/.

[499] Electronic facsimile and detailed description at http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/volumes/Mh_3/.

remarkably modern.[500] There have, nonetheless, been considerable scholarly advances made in the area over the last century, reflected in the chapter below.

4:1. The Scanian Gospel Books

4:1:1. The Dalby Book

The first book I have considered here is not from Asser's Lund. In fact, it is associated with a different religious institution. This said, it is connected to one of Asser's predecessors, and occupies an interesting place in the historiography of the early Scanian (and Danish) church. It is also one of a few witnesses in manuscript form to Hamburg-Bremen's Scandinavian presence, and therefore of considerable interest to the present thesis. For context, this subchapter therefore also includes a digression on the (not very many) surviving manuscripts associated with Hamburg-Bremen in this time period. The book in question is a sparsely illuminated eleventh-century gospel book of relatively modest size (with pages now measuring 215×145 mm), with the Hieronymian prologues *Plures fuisse* and *Novum opus*, the pseudo-Hieronymian *Sciendum etiam*, and the standard prologues to each gospel usually attributed to Priscillian.[501] It contains, furthermore, sixteen pages of canon tables and a *capitulare evangeliorum*, a list of gospel pericopes for various feast days, arranged according to the church year, to aid the celebrant of the mass. It is the earliest surviving codex with a Scandinavian provenance. The book has been described and discussed a number of times by Danish scholars, most recently and most exhaustively by Merete Geert Andersen, whose groundwork has been fundamental for my argument below, even if I disagree with her conclusions.[502]

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[500] Wrangel, *Lunds domkyrkas konsthistoria*, in particular pp. 26–40; Jørgensen, *Fremmed Indflydelse*. The fundamental nineteenth-century works of medieval cultural history from Denmark and Sweden respectively are Troels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det sekstende århundradet* and Hildebrand, *Sveriges medeltid*; on their actuality, see Carelli, *En kapitalistisk anda*, 12–15.

[501] Copenhagen, DKB, GKS 1325 4°.

[502] Andersen, 'Dalbybogen'.

Late-medieval additions associate it firmly with the community of Augustinian canons at Dalby, some six miles east of Lund. Dalby has an intriguing, if puzzling, early history. It was one of the new foundations in the reorganisation of the Danish church which Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen and King Sven Estridsen carried out in around 1060, and was founded as an episcopal see for a certain Egino, consecrated by Adalbert.[503] Its oddity is twofold: first, there is the question of why the two episcopal sees should have been established in such close proximity. One could see traces of conflict here – tempting, perhaps, in the light of Adam of Bremen's negative description of the bishop of Lund, Henry, and his positive account of Egino – but it seems just as likely that Dalby was established not in competition with Lund, but to fulfill a different function. Egino, in Adam's account, spent his Dalby episcopate evangelising pockets of heathendom in Denmark and Sweden. It seems reasonable to infer that Lund was intended to be a conventional city-bishopric, whereas Dalby's function was missionary, geared outwards, towards the north and towards pagan vestiges in the Baltic islands. It was also, it appears, one of Adalbert's more notable northern successes: a well-functioning Scandinavian base. It remained important after Egino's departure: in 1080 King Harald Hén was buried there, and additions and rebuildings are likely to indicate a continued royal interest.[504]

The other tricky question about Dalby's early history is about what kind of community actually lived there. After Henry's death, Adam wrote, Egino became the sole Scanian bishop, and chose (not unexpectedly) to fix his see at Lund. At Dalby, he established a *praepositura*, a provostry, *fratrum regulariter viventium*.[505] At a first glance this may seem quite clear: they were 'brothers living according to the Rule', that is Benedictine monks, who would have been replaced by, or reformed as, a community of canons regular at some point in the following decades. This has

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[503] See above, pp. 142.

[504] L. Weibull, 'Skånes kyrka', p. 159.

[505] Adam, *Gesta* IV:9 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 236–7; transl. Tschan, pp. 192–3).

also been the assumption of a number of modern historians.[506] Others, however, have disagreed. Lauritz Weibull, notably, preferred unbroken occupancy by canons regular.[507] What Adam wrote is, in fact, quite ambiguous: the phrase *regulariter vivere* could refer simply to cohabiting clergy.[508] Adam used similar terms elsewhere in reference to non-monastic communities: Archbishop Adaldag (988–1013) enforced *strictissima regula* on all *congregationes* in his diocese. When Bremen cathedral burned in 1041, the canons, *qui ante canonice vixerant*, began to wander outside the cloister and gradually abandoned *regula sanctorum patrum*.[509] There are, thus, no firm conclusions to be drawn from Adam alone. The Dalby book has, however, been used to argue for a monastic foundation: at the end of the gospel capitulary, among the so-called *capitularia necessaria*, it lists the pericopes *ad sanctimonialem benedicandam* and *in natalicia monachorum*.[510] This, it should be said, is only an indication, not particularly strong evidence. To begin, such a book is perfectly usable in a non-monastic context (and remained with the canons at Dalby until the end of the middle ages). Furthermore, such an argument implies that the book would have been produced specifically with the Dalby community in mind.

This is also the most common opinion among Danish scholars. In fact, the Dalby book is commonly seen as a local product: the earliest Danish book. This view is, in my opinion, untenable. It relies on the faulty assumption – discussed above in

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[506] For a detailed historiography, see Andersen, 'Dalbybogen', pp. 67–9.

[507] L. Weibull, 'Skånes kyrka', p. 159.

[508] For example the pro-Gregorian polemicist Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* III (ed. Dümmler in id., ed., *Libelli de lite* I, 578; transl. Robinson, *The Papal Reform*, pp. 171–2): 'cohabitacula clericorum regulariter viventium ab eisdem primitus ordinata': 'clergy following the regular life that they [Charlemagne and Louis the Pious] first inaugurated'. Bonizo was here, importantly, referring not to the canons regular who were starting to appear in his time, but to the Carolingian prescriptions for secular canons.

[509] Adam, *Gesta*, II:29 and II:81 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 90 and 138–9; transl. Tschan, pp. 74 and 110–11; note that Tschan's translation is somewhat unhelpful here, almost consistently translating *claustrum* with 'monastery').

[510] Andersen, 'Dalbybogen', pp. 97–8.

chapter two – that low quality or clumsy production alone can be used as evidence for a Scandinavian origin. Certainly, awkwardness or misunderstandings in script and decoration are an acceptable starting-point for such an argument: it seems perfectly reasonable to assume that the standard of book production in an environment where few high-quality models and only rudimentary scribal training were available would be noticeably less perfected than in large, well-established scriptoria. However, they have to be awkward features of a certain kind, indicative of an isolated scribal environment. The clumsiness apparent in the production of the Dalby book, and it is notable, consists of a misunderstanding between scribe and illuminator. The portraits of the evangelists at the beginning of each gospel would normally have been followed by an decorated initial page, containing a large initial and the very beginning of the gospel text; in the Dalby book, however, the initials have been incorporated into the evangelist portraits, but the gospel on the following page then misses the text that should have been included in the initial page.[511] There is, however, nothing particularly awkward about the script (even if it should be noted that the manuscript is in need of a detailed palaeographical reassessment). In general terms, it seems fair to describe the script as proficient but not high-grade. The weightiest palaeographical pronouncement on the Dalby book – and one that seems to have been consistently ignored by Scandinavian scholars – came from Hartmut Hoffmann in 1986. He has classed it as one of six members of a group of manuscripts attributed to 'an unknown Saxon scriptorium'.[512] It is always problematic to reconstruct a scriptorium without any anchorage in securely datable and localisable books or documents, but it seems clear that the script of the Dalby book would not be out of place in a mainstream Saxon context.[513] Most important, however, is Hoffmann's dating of the manuscript to the beginning of the eleventh century, long before the foundation of Dalby.

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[511] Ibid., pp. 79–82.

[512] Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum* I, 129 – 32.

[513] Cf., in general, on the perils and possibilities of reconstructing unknown scriptoria: Autenrieth, 'Probleme der Lokalisierung'.

Arguments about origin and date can go on forever, however, and are seldom constructive; an uncritical reliance on experienced authorities such as Hoffmann is also problematic, but difficult to avoid. It is considerably more interesting to consider the Dalby book in the context of books and liturgy from Hamburg-Bremen. The connection with Bremen is relatively clear: the gospel capitulary gives marked prominence to St Willehad of Bremen, and SS Sixtus and Sinnicius, whose relics had been brought to Hamburg by St Ansgar, and were later deposited with the religious community at Ramelsloh.[514] There are at least another five gospel books which feature the same saints in a similarly prominent position, ranging in date from the first half of the eleventh century to the twelfth century.[515] They are as follows: Hannover, Kestner-Museum W. M. XXIa, 37;[516] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 9475;[517] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 96;[518] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. fol. 18;[519] and possibly Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 74.[520] The last manuscript, it should be noted, lists the pericope for the feast of SS Willehad and Sixtus and Sinnicius, but no vigil for either feast, and is therefore only distantly related to the rest of the Willehad group: already by

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[514] Although this does not, *pace* Andersen, support her contention that Dalby began life as a Benedictine monastery: Ramelsloh was a house of secular canons. On Ramelsloh, 'eine Bremer exclave im Verdener Sprengel', see the introduction to Brosius, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Stifts Ramelsloh*, pp. 1–3; Cf. Andersen, 'Dalbybogen', pp. 97–102.

[515] See Bruch, 'Die alte Bremer Dombibliothek', pp. 292–3 and Andersen, 'Dalbybogen', pp. 85–98.

[516] S. xi; attributed to a scriptorium in Lower Saxony under influence from Reichenau by Andersen (ibid., pp. 85–6), whereas Hoffmann suggested a scribe from Essen or Paderborn: 'Das Skriptorium von Essen'; see also id., *Buchkunst und Königtum* I, 189n.

[517] ?Lower Saxony, s. xi[1]; prov. Niederaltaich in Bavaria: ibid. I, 198.

[518] According to Hoffmann a Corvey manuscript: ibid. I, 128.

[519] Probably Fulda, s. xi[1]: ibid. I, 143; Andersen has, independently, suggested a similar date and origin: 'Dalbybogen', p. 87.

[520] S. xii; the manuscript appears to be lost (ibid., pp. 87–8), but was identified as a Bremen book in 1906: Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher*, p. 292.

the tenth century, the Hamburg-Bremen saints were known and celebrated in a number of other German centres, including Essen, Cologne, and Regensburg.[521]

Overall, there are very few surviving manuscripts which can be said with any certainty to have been at Hamburg, Bremen, or an associated centre, before the mid-twelfth century.[522] In addition to the group of gospel books analysed by Andersen, there are another five surviving manuscripts with clear Hamburg-Bremen connections: Rome, Vallicelliana B 141, the liturgical compendium for an itinerant priest described above in chapter two; Udine, Biblioteca Capitulare, 76 V, a sacramentary from the early eleventh century;[523] Manchester, John Rylands Library, Lat. 87, another gospel book;[524] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1861, a grand psalter written by the scribe Dagulf, once presented by Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian I, later given to Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen by Henry IV in 1065 and mentioned by Adam (the ivory plaques from its cover are in the Louvre);[525] and the so-called Codex Vicelini, Münster, Staatsarchiv, Ms. 1 B 228, copied in early twelfth century, and donated to Abdinghof abbey in Paderborn in 1118×23 by the Bremen canon Vicelin (later famed as the evangeliser of Holstein) with the

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[521] Andersen, 'Dalbybogen', pp. 95–7. Two more gospel books, both destroyed in 1943, could possibly be added to the Willehad group: Hannover, Staatsarchiv J 38 (s. xi, prov. Lüneburg) och Dep. 17 B Nr. 37 (s. xi, prov. Hameln): ibid., p. 85.

[522] For a (not always reliable) introduction, see Bruch, 'Die alte Bremer Dombibliothek', in particular pp. 292–3.

[523] Fulda, s. xi in.: see Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen*, pp. 258–67; Carletti, 'Il "sacramentario fuldense" di Udine'; Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum* I, 169–70. It is not mentioned in Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda*.

[524] Dating to around 1000; see James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* I, 157–9 and II, plates 113–16; Bruch, 'Rylands Latin Ms. 87'; and Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum* I, 128.

[525] Aachen, or Lyons, c. 794; the main text is written entirely in gold letters: Adam, *Gesta* III:45 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 187; transl. Tschan, p. 151); the 'Dagulf Psalter' has been published in facsimile: Holter, ed., *Der goldene Psalter 'Dagulf-Psalter'*; see also Hägermann, 'Karl der Große und die Karlstradition in Bremen', pp. 64–5 and Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, pp. 69–70.

agreement of Archbishop Frederick (1104–23).[526] The donation marked Vicelin's entry into Abdinghof as a monk, and he chose an interesting compilation of texts, designed, it seems, to boost Hamburg-Bremen's prestige: a collection of forged papal and imperial diplomas, and the Lives of SS Willehad, Rimbert, and Ansgar – the last in the reworked, early twelfth-century version, where Rimbert's narrative had been adjusted to accommodate the archbishopric's grandiose claims to power which had arisen under Adalbert[527]. In addition, a number of single-sheet diplomas, produced in the twelfth century, survived until 1943 in the state archives in Hannover, and had been photographed before their destruction. Apart from the Codex Vicelini, there is only one surviving pre-1100 witness to any of the saints' lives associated with Hamburg-Bremen: a late ninth-century copy of Rimbert's Life of Ansgar; Bernhard Bischoff identified the hand as a Corvey scribe, however.[528] There is one surviving witness to Adam's history from before 1150 – the fragmentary Leiden manuscript from around 1100 – but it is clear that the *Gesta* were diffused in a number of copies, also in Scandinavia, at an early stage, as mentioned above.[529] The archiescopate of Hartwig (1148–68) seems to mark a new phase, and he is known to have donated twenty-seven books to the cathedral, including five liturgical books and a number of theological works, which brought Hamburg-Bremen up to date with contemporary Parisian learning.[530]

The sum total is thus some ten, eleven, or possibly twelve manuscript codices (of which seven are gospel books) – a very low number indeed from an archiepiscopal

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[526] Seegrün, *Das Erzbistum*, p. 2; see also the introduction to Ansgar, *Vita Willehadi*: ed. Pertz, pp. 378–9.

[527] The same saints' lives and a related collection of diplomas, were compiled at an uncertain date into a manuscript last seen in Bonn 1769, but edited in 1642 by Philipp Caesar (in his *Triapostolatus septentrionis*); according to Caesar, the manuscript was in two hands, the one older than the other and *pulchre legibiliter scriptus* (a Caroline hand?): Seegrün, *Das Erzbistum*, pp. 4–5.

[528] Buhl and Kurras, *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek Stuttgart*, p. 101.

[529] See above, p. 126, with references.

[530] See Bruch, 'Die alte Bremer Dombibliothek', pp. 292–7 in particular. Five of these manuscripts survive.

cathedral in high-medieval Germany (and a double cathedral at that), particularly as it includes any books owned by outlying houses of canons and monasteries. In part, this can be explained by the tumultuous history of the Hamburg and Bremen cathedrals, as mentioned at several instances above: Bremen cathedral burned in 1041, and its library appears to have been plundered by Henry the Lion in 1155; Hamburg was destroyed in the *Slawenaufstände* of 983 and 1066.[531] Ultimately, however, the paucity of surviving material must be attributed to limited scribal and literary activity: overall, the cathedral school at Bremen, even under Adam's leadership, came nowhere near the sophistication and productivity of those in the more central parts of the kingdom. Of the manuscripts listed above, few – if any – seem to have been produced at Hamburg or Bremen. Rylands Lat. 87 is in a Corvey hand; likewise, it seems, Bamberg, Bibl. 96.[532] The sacramentary now in Udine was produced at Fulda; the central manuscript in the Bremen group of gospel books has been attributed to Essen or Paderborn; and the origin of Vallicelliana B 141, if impossible to determine exactly, seems to have been far to the south of Lower Saxony.[533] In 1147 Archbishop Adalbero confirmed a grant of land in Bremen made by his predecessor Liemar to the abbey of Helmarshausen on the Weser, in

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[531] Ibid., pp. 92–6; a cathedral chapter was reestablished at Hamburg only in around 1140: Seegrün, *Das Erzbistum*, p. 64. Both cathedral libraries were dissolved in the modern era: Bremen's by the conquering Swedes in 1650 (and taken to Stade: Bruch, 'Die alte Bremer Dombibliothek', pp. 297–303); when Hamburg cathedral library was put up for auction in 1784, 'more or less all the medieval manuscripts for which it was possible to put in a bid' were acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen: Petersen, 'Medieval Book Culture in Denmark', p. 19. The Dagulf Psalter and Rylands Lat. 87 appear to have been acquired by Bishop Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg of Regensburg and Osnabrück at some point in the first half of the seventeenth century, as part of a systematic purchase of Catholic relics from the Protestant north: Bruch, 'Rylands Latin Ms. 87', pp. 279–80.

[532] On the diffusion of manuscripts from tenth- and eleventh-century Corvey, see Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination* II, 159–74; Corvey, of course, had historical associations with Ansgar and Hamburg, and it was one of the abbeys acquired for Hamburg-Bremen by Archbishop Adalbert in his extraordinary programme of land- and power-grabbing which culminated in 1065 and was brought to a painful conclusion in the following year: Adam, *Gesta* III:45 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 187–8; transl. Tschan, pp. 151–2).

[533] See above, pp. 45–6.

recognition of them giving him a monk to work as a scribe, a certain Frederick.[534] No traces of Frederick of Helmarshausen's activity at Bremen have been identified, but his employment seems to further support the case for the lack of a well-established scribal school or workshop in eleventh and early twelfth-century Bremen.

This said, few German centres were self-sufficient in terms of book production – for example, of the enormous number of books acquired and produced for Bamberg in the century after its foundation in the early eleventh century (the cathedral in 1004 (consecrated in 1012) and Michelsberg monastery in 1015), only a small portion were produced locally: according to Hartmut Hoffmann, at most a dozen out of 175 pre-1100 surviving manuscripts. [535] In fact, books and scribes travelled widely and frequently between religious houses and cathedral chapters in Ottonian and Salian Germany.[536] Timothy Reuter's arguments against the notion of an 'imperial church system' were cited and supported above, but in terms of books, and liturgical books in particular, the manner in which they were diffused and circulated gave rise to a certain cultural unity.[537] Certain types of books have become emblematic of this system of gifts, transactions, and scribal outsourcing: the deluxe sacramentaries from Fulda, one of which was produced for Bremen, are probably the most notable.[538] The donation of a golden psalter associated with Charlemagne to Adalbert in 1065 was also a markedly imperial gesture – even if, it should be noted, it occurred in the last stages of Henry IV's minority, when Adalbert himself was still the *de facto* ruler. This said, the few surviving Hamburg-Bremen manuscripts from before the mid-twelfth century reinforce the impression that Hamburg-Bremen functioned (when it functioned) as a sort of gathering point for cultural goods passing from the

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[534] Erhard and Wilmans, ed., *Regesta historiae Westfaliae* IV, 42.

[535] Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften*, pp. 78 and 86.

[536] Hartmut Hoffmann's work has been – by far – the most important in uncovering and exploring this system, and Bamberg is probably the best example of how it functioned: see ibid., pp. 78–105 in particular. See also in general, id., *Buchkunst und Königtum*.

[537] Cf. above pp. 136–7.

[538] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination* II, 124–57.

European centre – and not just Germany – into the Scandinavian periphery; it channelled, rather than emanated, cultural transfer. This realisation has important implications for quite how the actual influence of Hamburg-Bremen on the budding Scandinavian church should be understood.

4:1:2. Reading the Gospels at Asser's Lund

There are interesting parallels between what remains of the earliest book collections of Bremen and Lund: for one thing, the numbers of surviving books from before around 1150 are similar; second, both groups contain a sizeable proportion of gospel books, testament to the prestige of the genre and, consequently, its increased likelihood of survival; third, both centres looked to the abbey of Helmarshausen on the Weser for scribal assistance and inspiration. Since Lund's Helmarshausen connection has been described and considered in some detail by a number of scholars before, all that is needed here is a summary, and a consideration of its significance within the context of the present thesis.[539] Lund and Helmarshausen came to interact at a time when artistic influence of the Saxon abbey was at its peak, the mid-twelfth century. Its most famous product dates from slightly later – the gospel book donated by Henry the Lion to the church of St Blasius in Braunschweig in around 1180 – but it was in around 1120–50 that its scribes and artists were the most sought-after.[540] The most artistically accomplished of the Lund gospel books, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C. 83, is clearly a Helmarshausen product, and although the dedication picture establishes clearly that the book was written for St Lawrence's, the *capitulare evangeliorum* follows Helmarshausen usage. It is written in three hands, two of which share the typically conservative, 'pure-Caroline' script

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[539] See Habicht, 'Romanische niedersächsische Miniaturen in Skandinavien'; Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen*; Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden* (in particular pp. 25–7, 41–2, and 74–5; Ekström, *Lunds domkyrkas äldsta liturgiska böcker*, pp. 50–69; and Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, 'Buchkultur im geistlichen Beziehungsnetz', pp. 98–100.

[540] Kötzsche, ed., *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs der Löwen*; Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, pp. 74–86; Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, 'Buchkultur im geistlichen Beziehungsnetz', pp. 111–14.

of the abbey.[541] The third hand, however, responsible for part of the *capitulare evangeliorum*, is less proficient than the others, and quite different: upright and angular, with most of the letter forms strongly reminiscent of at least one Lund hand (writing in the 1130s).[542]

Another of the Lund gospel books, DKB, Thott 21 4°, is written in a seemingly local hand, but has been illuminated in the Helmarshausen style. Some rubrics appear to be in a Helmarshausen hand, presumably that of the illuminator.[543] There are, as Hartmut Hoffmann has shown, a number of known cases where Helmarshausen scribes have contributed only a portion to a manuscript written in a different centre. Normally, these portions should probably be attributed to travelling scribes, or sometimes monks installed permanently or semi-permanently outside the abbey, like Frederick at Bremen.[544] In the case of Lund, speculation about quite how the partially Helmarshausen-produced manuscripts came into being can be informed by some knowledge about contact between the two centres from other sources: at some point in the second quarter of the twelfth century, St Lawrence's cathedral chapter and Helmarshausen entered a confraternity agreement, and St Lawrence's necrology (on which more below) records the names of two men, at least one of them apparently a Dane and probably a former canons of the cathedral, who died as Helmarshausen monks at some point in the second half of the twelfth century. According to Hartmut Hoffmann, one of them may well have been responsible for part of the gospel book Uppsala C 83.[545]

The most mysterious of the Lund gospel books is Thott 22 4°, a seemingly imported book which became liturgically normative for the cathedral (the text of Thott 21 4°,

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[541] For the Helmarshausen script, see Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, pp. 16–19.

[542] Lauritz Weibull's hand d in the Lund necrology: *NL*, xlix–l and xcvii. Cf. fig. 6 and 7, ll. 7–11 and 2–7.

[543] For example fol. 115v; see fig. 8, and note the striking contrast between the Helmarshausen and Lund hands, the former deceptively old-fashioned in appearance.

[544] Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, pp. 74–6.

[545] Ibid., pp. 41–2 and 74.

including the *capitulare evangeliorum*, is a direct copy). It is in a single professional, if not calligraphic, German hand of the eleventh century.[546] It is difficult to localise liturgically: there are no Scandinavian saints, but it is noteworthy that a reading for the vigil of St Lawrence is listed.[547] If the book was written for, or even at Lund, it must therefore be from an early stage in St Lawrence's history, before the cathedral's liturgical profile had been fully developed. Some of the feasts listed in the *capitulare evangeliorum* were apparently never celebrated at Lund (although they were all copied into Thott 21 4°), or had at least been rejected by around 1123, when the earliest surviving complete Lund calendar was written down. They include St Felicula (13 Jun), SS Simplicius, Faustinus, and Beatrice (29 Jul: the feast day of both St Felix the pope and St Olav; the latter presumably ruled out the celebration of the three Roman martyrs at Lund), St Genesius (25 Aug), SS Chrysanthus and Daria (25 Oct) and St Felicitas (23 Nov), all universal saints, even if – with some considerable luck – the combination might point to a particular centre. Otherwise, the sanctoral is close to later Lund practice.[548] Stylistically, the book is simple: the decoration is in red pigment (and in one instance, the initial at the beginning of the prologue to the gospel according to St Matthew, in green: fol. 17r) and consists only of initials and simply drawn canon tables. The ink is brown, and the letter forms and general aspect appear, to me, to point towards northern or western, rather than southern, Germany.[549] Taken as a whole, the trio of gospel books from St

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[546] See fig. 9.

[547] Although the rubric, unlike in Thott 21 4°, is not capitalised: one of a very few minor adjustments made when Thott 22 4° was copied. The only other saints' vigils given proper readings in Thott 22 4° are those of St John the Baptist (23 Jun), and the Apostles Peter and Paul (28 Jun) and Andrew (29 Nov).

[548] See further below, pp. 195–9. By the strictest definitions, the feast of St Vincent (22 Jan) is also lacking in the earliest Lund calendar (in the necrology discussed below: L. Weibull, ed., *NL*, p. 53), but the entry for that date (by the scribe who wrote the calendar and the earliest obituaries), apparently commemorating a 'Vincent the deacon', must be a scribal error.

[549] It seems unaffected by the so-called slanting-oval style (*schrägovale Stil*) of Caroline minuscule (Bischoff, *Paläographie*, pp. 154–5 or id., *Latin Palaeography*, p. 121, and Daniel, *Handschriften*, p. 4) which was predominant in Bavarian scriptoria from the late tenth century, and was apparently

Lawrence's shows how the chapter, when creating its own liturgical profile, was not simply importing and being influenced by books, but actively engaged and participated in book-making with perhaps the most artistically influential Saxon centre of its time.[550]

4:2. The Canons and their Connections: The Lund Chapter Book

Not only the monks at Helmarshausen prayed for the canons of St Lawrence's (and vice versa): there were confraternity agreements between Lund and a number of other centres. These were all recorded in the most important surviving record of Asser's cathedral chapter, the *liber capituli* Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket Mh 6 (usually known as the *Necrologium Lundense*, which title, however, only applies to part of the book).[551] The book was compiled in connection with the consecration of the crypt in 1123.[552] The manuscript is in three sections: first, a collection of foundational documents, including a donation letter of the royal saint Knud IV (1080–6), a reworking of a charter from 1085.[553] Second, the customary of the cathedral, and third the necrology (also known as the *memoriale fratrum*), complemented at the end with lists of Danish kings, bishops of Lund, prominent members of the chapter, and of the religious communities with which St Lawrence's had entered *societas et fraternitas*. In addition to Helmarshausen, these were as

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diffused in Saxony by centres such as Paderborn and Helmarshausen only by the later eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth: Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, pp. 16 and 82).

[550] For two convenient maps of Helmarshausen's sphere of influence in this period, see Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, 'Buchkultur im geistlichen Beziehungsnetz', pp. 78–9; outside Saxony-Westfalia, the abbey also exported books to Cologne, Liège, Deutz, and Pegau in Thuringia.

[551] The appellation given in the recent online catalogue, 'Record Book from the Cathedral of Lund', also seems strangely inappropriate, particularly as the manuscript conforms relatively well to a well-established liturgical genre: Palazzo, *Les livres liturgiques*, pp. 176–9.

[552] Scholars, it should be noted, have disagreed on the date, particularly with respect to the Lund customary (see further below). The case for 1123 (for both the customary and the necrology) is strong, however, and recently well put in Ciardi, 'När tog lundakanikernas *Consuetudines* egentligen i bruk?'.

[553] L. Weibull, 'Knut den heliges gåvobrev till Lunds Domkyrka 1085', in his *NH* II, 131–69.

follows: the houses of Dalby and All Saints in Lund, all other Danish cathedral chapters, and the house of canons at Ravengiersburg near Trier.[554] Ravengiersburg was originally an eremitic foundation, dating back to 1074, but had, at some point in the early twelfth century, been organised under the *ordo novus* of Springiersbach and Kloosterrade/Rolduc.[555] The canons eventually complained about the impracticalities of so strict a rule and, after consulting Hildegard of Bingen, adopted the somewhat more pragmatic *consuetudines* of Marbach at some point between 1139 and 1147.[556] Their efforts to establish an identity in the complex world of twelfth-century reformed houses were part of a widespread move away from the *ordo novus* in the second quarter of the twelfth century (Springiersbach itself followed Marbach customs from 1139 onwards).[557] The confraternity agreement between Lund and Ravengiersburg does not date from the time the chapter book was compiled, but rather to the end of Asser's episcopate: probably the mid-1130s, at around the same time as that with the canons of Viborg cathedral in Jutland.[558] Helmarshausen has been added to the list by a later hand, and – as mentioned above – the date of the agreement is uncertain.[559]

The chapter book gives an intriguing and – especially in a twelfth-century Scandinavian context – remarkably full picture of the concerns, affiliations, and ideals of the canons of St Lawrence's. And it is a focussed picture, reflecting a relatively limited time-span: at some point in the early years of Eskil's archiepiscopate the chapter book was supplanted by a new necrology, known as the *Liber daticus vetustior*.[560] All obituaries were transferred from the *Necrologium Lundense* into the *Liber daticus vetustior*, and the former, although it continued

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[554] *NL*: ed. L Weibull, pp. 126–32.

[555] See above, pp. 153–4.

[556] Siegwart, ed., *Die Consuetudines des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Marbach*, p. 66n.

[557] Id., *Die Chorherren- und Chrofrauengemeinschaften*, pp. 284–327.

[558] L. Weibull, ed., *NL*, pp. lxiii–lxiv.

[559] Ibid., pp. lxv–lxvi.

[560] Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Mh 7; edited by C. Weeke: *Libri memoriales capituli Lundensis*; see also Ekström, *Lunds domkyrkas äldsta liturgiska böcker*, pp. 40–5 and L. Weibull, ed., *NL*, p. lxxxvi.

being written in, if not used in chapter meetings (entries in the *Liber daticus vetustior* went on being copied into its precursor until around 1170, and there are a number of later notices, the latest from 1316), it became of secondary importance for the chapter. This means that, out of the twenty-eight medieval hands identified by Lauritz Weibull, who edited the older necrology in 1923, twelve can be said with some certainty to date from the period 1123–1139×45, and within this period a tentative internal chronology can be established. Given the wealth of concentrated evidence within it, the manuscript should by all accounts occupy a central position in any account of how Latin literate culture was received in Scandinavia; it does, however, need a comprehensive palaeographical reassessment, for all that Weibull's edition is exemplary, and his palaeographical analysis remarkably astute. What can be said here, preliminarily and in brief, is first that there appears to be no twelfth-century Lund hand writing the old-fashioned, 'pure-Caroline' calligraphic script that was used in the most prestigious German scriptoria at the time (such as Helmarshausen): all hands which can certifiably be attributed to Lund scribes are distinguished by more or less 'gothic' features.[561] Second, there is – at least before 1150 or so – no distinctive Lund script: in particular in the necrology, the stylistic heterogeneity is quickly noticeable.

The second section of St Lawrence's chapter book, which prescribes the customs of the cathedral, is itself in three sections: first, a selection of patristic texts, relevant to communal life. Second, twenty-four folios in an older hand, containing the Rule of Aachen of 817, the dominant rule among secular canons in post-Carolingian Europe. Most likely these folios were once an independent *libellus*, or formed part of an older codex: the script is a high-grade Caroline minuscule, its most remarkable aspects a certain squareness, and a strong, flat headline, reinforced by thick triangular wedges on the minims and very short ascenders. It is typical of western Germany, and the Rhineland in particular, in the eleventh century – similar hands

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[561] On twelfth-century so-called 'Pregothic' script, see Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 56–71, and below, pp. 250–1.

can be found in the manuscripts of, for example, Cologne.[562] Third, the *consuetudines Lundenses* proper, a slightly reworked and significantly abbreviated version of the customary of Marbach, a house of canons regular in the Alsace and, as mentioned above, together with Rottenbuch in Bavaria the most influential centre in diffusing the so-called *ordo antiquus* tradition of the 'rule of St Augustine' in Germany.[563] It is important to note that, as has been pointed out by the editor of the *consuetudines Lundenses*, Erik Buus, Lund never fully adopted Marbach customs: the patristic excerpts, the Aachen rule, and the edited excerpts should be taken *as a whole* as the guidelines and prescriptions for canonical life at Lund, which was never fully regularised under Asser. The Lund redaction of the Marbach customary includes a reference to the Aachen rule preceding it in the chapter book, and it avoids the name of Augustine and the word *regularis*, thus making it clear that the new statutes were not intended to replace the Aachen rule, but to complement it.[564]

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[562] The decorated initial on fol. 58v is, according to the latest catalogue, clearly of the twelfth century, and should probably be considered a later addition: http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/volumes/Mh_6/detailed/; the hand is reminiscent of that of the gospel book fragment from Cologne described above in chapter two (pp. 68–7), and appears to be earlier than the catalogue editors' suggestion of around 1100: fig. 10.

[563] Buus, ed., *Consuetudines Lundenses*, which includes a sustained comparison with the Marbach customary, edited by Josef Siegwart: *Die Consuetudines*. There has been some disagreement in scholarship concerning the date of the Lund customary, and it has been argued that this section of the chapter book is a later addition to the necrology by some years. This discussion, however, took as its starting point Siegwart's dating of the Marbach *consuetudines* to 1122×24 , which has since been revised by Helmuth Deutz to an earlier date, perhaps as early as to 1098. Siegwart has accepted the earlier date (Deutz, *Geistliches und geistiges Leben*, pp. 32n and 35n, his conclusion was anticipated by Erik Buus in 1978: *Consuetudines Lundenses*, pp. 24–7). For a recent, and entirely persuasive argument for the Lund chapter, including the customary, having been compiled in 1123, see Ciardi, 'När tog lundakanikernas *Consuetudines* egentligen i bruk?'.

[564] It is generally assumed that the chapter followed only the Aachen rule before the *Consuetudines Lundenses* were compiled, but one cannot be certain; it does not seem unlikely that the monks of All Saints' outside Lund and the canons of Dalby would have assisted at St Lawrence's, and 'a certain eclecticism of observance is characteristic of the Danish chapters' in this period (Gjerløw, ed. *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae*, p. 90).

Nonetheless, St Lawrence's reverted to an entirely secular usage under Archbishop Eskil and Asser's customary was rejected.[565]

Among the many centres influenced by the Marbach customs, Lund was conspicuously early (the Lund chapter book is, by decades, the earliest manuscript witness to the Marbach *consuetudines*), and far to the north: their influence was otherwise limited to south to Swabia (with a couple of Bavarian exceptions), at least before 1139, when Springiersbach and Salzburg, until then strongholds of the *ordo novus* tradition of Augustinian customs, adopted the slightly laxer Marbach *consuetudines*.[566] In other ways, however, St Lawrence's experiment with the world of regular canonry fits well into at least two more general contexts. First, it is worth noting that, out of eight Danish cathedrals in existence by 1100, three ended up served by regular communities until the late middle ages: Odense, by Benedictines originally from Evesham Abbey; Viborg and Børglum by canons regular – the latter was a daughter house of Steinfeld in Lotharingia, and at some point, like its mother house, became part of the congregation of Prémontré.[567] Furthermore, in Ribe, as mentioned above, Bishop Helias attempted an unsuccessful regularisation of the chapter.[568] Second, when both Ribe and Lund eventually failed to uphold reformed canonical standards, they also conformed to a broader European pattern: the inherent tension in the life of a canon regular between ascetic withdrawal and pastoral activity often proved impossible to resolve, and reformers had to renege on their high principles in response to practical problems. From the middle decades of the twelfth century in particular, a number of communities gave up trying to follow the

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[565] Ekström, *Lunds domkyrkas äldsta liturgiska böcker*, pp. 17–18.

[566] For a list of communities influenced by Marbach, see Siegwart, ed., *Die Consuetudines*, pp. 80–3 (but note the erroneous dating of the Lund customary).

[567] Both the Augustinian and Premonstratensian reforms occurred at some point in the twelfth century, but the dates and details remain unknown: see the careful discussion in Nyberg, *Die Kirche in Skandinavien*, pp. 79–110. On the Odense Benedictines, see King, 'English Influence on the Church at Odense'. A large-scale study of the Danish cathedral chapter in the central middle ages by Anna Minara Ciardi is underway at the University of Lund.

[568] See above, pp. 158.

strictest Augustinian prescriptions. 'It is', wrote Josef Siegwart, 'impossible to escape the impression that the more widely the Marbach *consuetudines* spread, the less they were adhered to. Therein lies the general tragedy of the canon reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the great men of renewal, in their excitement about the present, wished to achieve too much, and had little long-term success, or failed to provide protection for their work from decay in subsequent generations'.[569]

Quite how the Marbach customs were introduced to Asser's chapter, and what the links between the two communities were remains a mystery. The central and most well-known part of the chapter book, the necrology, can however provide some hints about quite how contacts between Lund and the European centre were maintained. Such evidence also raises a question central to the argument of this thesis: did the importation of books occur on an arbitrary, occasional basis, or, alternatively, can cultural transfer from the European centre to the Scandinavian periphery be attributed to 'institutional mobility' (to use a term from Dominik Waßenhoven), that is regular or regulated contact within an institutional context?[570] In brief, the Lund necrology suggests that, on the one hand, St Lawrence's was keen to establish such links; on the other, that the links were only patchily upheld: it contains obituaries for only four members of Ravengiersburg, and three from Helmarshausen.[571] In contrast, there are obituaries for twenty-eight canons from Roskilde, and fifteen monks of Odense.[572] A few obituaries bespeak occasional contact with German centres: a Margaret, commemorated on 3 June, was buried in St Pantaleon's in

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[569] Siegwart, ed., *Die Consuetudines*, p. 83: 'Man kann sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren daß die Marbacher Consuetudines umso weniger befolgt wurden, je mehr sie sich verbreiteten. Darin liegt überhaupt die Tragik der Kanonikerreform des 11. und 12. Jh., daß die großen Männer der Erneuerung in ihrer Begeisterung für den Augenblick zu viel erreichen wollten und auf die Dauer zu wenig Erfolg hatten oder ihr Werk nicht über Generationen hinweg vor dem Zerfall bewahren konnten.'

[570] The most conspicuous example of 'institutional mobility' in this period would be the Cistercian General Chapter. See Waßenhoven, *Skandinavier unterwegs in Europa*, pp. 97–100.

[571] L. Weibull, ed., *NL*, pp. lxiii and lxv.

[572] Ibid., p. lxiii.

Cologne; a Wiman from Cologne, known as *Vabec*, was commemorated on 18 November.[573] In all likelihood, there are also a number of obituaries for men or women of a non-Danish background, even if this has not been recorded. For example, an obituary of a man of known German origin, which goes unmentioned in the necrology, is that of Hermann of Kloosterrade, discussed above, who died as a canon of St Lawrence's on 16 January.[574] Hermann is an interesting case in point: the oldest of the two epistolaries (books containing biblical readings for mass from outside the gospels arranged according to the calendar) of twelfth-century St Lawrence's, an apparently imported manuscript from the early twelfth century, seems liturgically affiliated with the diocese of Liège – it prescribes readings for some unusual Flemish saints, including Lampert of Maastricht, the patron saint of Liège.[575] According to art historians, the initials could perhaps be associated with the schools of Lobbes or Gembloux.[576] Kloosterrade was in the diocese of Liège, and its church had been consecrated on the feast-day of St Lampert. Should one therefore conclude (as the recent has catalogue has it) that Hermann was 'the intermediary link or even the commissioner'?[577] It certainly seems quite possible: as said above in chapter three, the canons of Kloosterrade kept abreast of Hermann's Danish career, and the example of Helmarshausen shows how – as it appears – a certain individual could function as the enabler of cultural transfer in the form of liturgical books.

4:3. Some Notes on the Sanctoral

The liturgy of Lund has yet to be the object of an extensive, concerted study (such as those for Linköping and Uppsala by Sven Helander, and for Skara by Hilding

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[573] Ibid., pp. 74 and 104. On the Cologne connection, see Wrangel, *Lunds domkyrkas konsthistoria*, pp. 35–6.

[574] Ibid., p. 52: 'dominuſ Heremannuſ episcopuſ huiuſ congregationiſ canonicuſ'; see above pp. 153–7.

[575] See fig. 11.

[576] See the online catalogue: http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/volumes/Mh_2/detailed/.

[577] Ibid.

Johansson); this despite the fact the rite consolidated at St Lawrence's over the course of the twelfth century became enormously influential in all of Scandinavia; and that later-medieval material, both in printed and manuscript form, can give a relatively comprehensive view of the cathedral's liturgical profile.[578] Some of this material, such as the Lund pontifical, can be traced back to lost witnesses from the twelfth century.[579] Such a study would not, of course, be appropriate or possible as part of this thesis; nor is my concern with post-twelfth-century liturgical manuscripts. Some things need to be said, however, on the part of the developing Lund rite most comprehensively represented in the twelfth-century manuscript material: the calendar, and the sanctoral in particular. There are three surviving calendars from twelfth-century Lund: those forming the bases of the *Necrologium Lundense* and the *Liber daticus vetustior*, and the calendar accompanying the so-called Colbaz annals (compiled in Lund in around 1150).[580] In addition, the three gospel books and two epistolaries associated with the chapter provide sparser, but often interesting evidence about the cult of saints at Lund.

Historians have previously looked to the Lund calendars to elucidate the different political allegiances of archbishops Asser and Eskil, by comparing the feasts included in the oldest necrology – the central witness to the Lund calendar – and those in the later *Liber daticus vetustior* and the Colbaz manuscript, both of which are based on martyrologies, and therefore contain the names of considerably more

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[578] Helander, *Ordinarius Lincopensis*; id., *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*; and Johansson, *Den medeltida liturgin i Skara stift*. On Lund's influence see for example Helander, *Ordinarius Lincopensis*, pp. 68 – 72 and Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis ecclesiae*. On the liturgy of Lund in the late middle ages, see Strömberg, 'Gudstjänstlivet i Lunds domkyrka 1300–1536'.

[579] The Lund pontifical was apparently imported from Rheims under Archbishop Eskil, probably following his exile in 1161–7: see Strömberg, *Den pontifikala liturgin i Lund och Roskilde* particularly pp. 31–54. Eskil had close links with both the cathedral and the abbey of St Rémi in Rheims, and spent much of his exile in France with Abbot Peter of St Rémi and in Paris, although he also visited Rome and the Holy Land: L. Weibull, *NH* II, pp. 237–41.

[580] See L. Weibull, 'Annalerna og kalendariet fra Colbaz', pp. 174–81 in particular (on the calendar), and Rosenstock, 'Colbazårbogen'.

saints than it was possible to celebrate, although in both cases the presentation of the calendar makes it quite clear which saints' feasts were actually to be observed (and to what degree). For example, according to Lauritz Weibull's interpretation, St Cnut (the king) and his brother Erik Ejegod were at first studiously avoided in the manuscripts from Eskil's archiepiscopate.[581] Others have disagreed: notably, Carsten Breengaard has pointed out a number of methodological problems in Weibull's interpretation.[582]

The Lund calendar has been described as having a 'predominantly German basis [with] a significant English element'.[583] The significance of the English element is actually arguable: there certainly are Insular saints' feasts present, but, with the exception of St Botulph, whose cult was general and important in all of Scandinavia, the calendars show no evidence of the veneration of any particularly obscure or remarkable Insular saints' cults.[584] SS Alban, Cuthbert and Patrick are in the Colbaz calendar, but not marked as celebrated, and they could have come from a Continental source.[585] Indeed, the calendars firmly associate Lund with a German cultural sphere: from the earliest evidence, the gospel book Thott 22 4° and the epistolary from Liège, to the necrology, to the *Liber daticus vetustior* (based on the martyrology of Ado of Vienne, with Lotharingian additions – it includes thirteen bishops of Metz – and adapted to the Lund calendar) and the Colbaz calendar (which

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[581] L. Weibull, 'Skånes kyrka', pp. 201–3; id., ed., *NL*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii and 81. Cnut Lavard, remembered as *gloriosus Sclauorum rex* in the *Necrologium Lundense*, was not entered into the *Liber daticus vetustior* until the early thirteenth century: ibid., p. 50.

[582] See, for example, Breengaard in polemic against Curt Weibull's review of Breengaard's thesis (*Muren om Israels hus*) in 1986 (when Curt Weibull was a hundred years old; he had defended *his* controversial thesis in 1915!): 'Positivisme og Weibull-mytologi', pp. 281–3 (cf. C. Weibull, 'Ny och äldre historieskrivning', pp. 21–4), where the erroneous interpretation of the relevant entry in the *Liber daticus vetustior* by both Weibull brothers is made quite clear.

[583] Helander, *Ordinarius Lincopensis*, p. 72: 'den dominerande tyska stommen [med] ett betydande engelskt inslag'.

[584] Toy, 'St Botulph: An English Saint in Scandinavia'.

[585] They all occur in Cologne material, for example: Zilliken, 'Der Kölner Festkalender'.

contains a remarkable number of saints associated with Bavaria).[586] On the occasion for which the earliest necrology was probably compiled, the consecration of the crypt, the relics deposited by Asser in the altar made this association even stronger: included among them were bones of saints and archbishops Heribert of Cologne (d. 1021) and Bardo of Mainz (d. 1051), and – most interestingly – of all three 'Hamburg-Bremen saints': SS Willehad, Ansgar, and Rimbert.[587] Rimbert does not appear in any liturgical document from Lund, but both Ansgar and Willehad were celebrated, if not with proper offices.[588] The selection of relics so conspicuously associated with Hamburg-Bremen appears to have been a gesture of reconciliation, of gratitude to the Hamburg-Bremen mission, and of a deliberate realignment with the German church.

Asser's choice of relics can only be seen as an ideological statement. This in contrast to Eskil's, at the consecration of the completed cathedral in 1145 (and the consecration of the altar in the northern aisle in the following year), when such a plethora of saints were invoked, from the Virgin to St Æðelþryð of Ely (in total relics from some one hundred and four saints were deposited in the three altars, many of which appear never to have been venerated at Lund), that any such statement would have been swamped in sheer general confusion.[589] Eskil's régime does seem to have brought in a slightly different attitude to the Hamburg-Bremen legacy, however, as the feast of St Ansgar (9 Sep) was not transferred into the second-generation calendars. On the other hand, the feast of St Willehad of Bremen (9 Nov) was elevated to a higher liturgical degree, with proper lessons. If this was a political statement, it was thus a very subtle one: a preference for Bremen over

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[586] On the saints in the *Liber daticus vetustior*, see Ekström, *Lunds domkyrkas äldsta liturgiska böcker*, pp. 40–5; for a detailed account of the Colbaz calendar, see Weibull, 'Annalerna og kalendariet fra Colbaz', pp. 178–9 and Jørgensen, *Fremmed Indflydelse*, p. 81.

[587] L. Weibull, ed., *NL*, p. 80; fig. 12.

[588] On the development of their cult at Rome, see Wrangel, *Lunds domkyrkas konsthistoria*, pp. 29–30.

[589] L. Weibull, ed., *NL*, pp. 90–2. Some changes in the Lund calendar do appear to have a connection with the new altars: Weibull, 'Annalerna og kalendariet fra Colbaz', pp. 178–80.

Hamburg, as the latter was more strongly associated with claims of metropolitan authority in Scandinavia (Adalbero began to style himself *archiepiscopus Hammaburgensis* in diplomas after 1133).[590] It is also possible that the changes came in response to practical circumstances, such as the availability or unavailability of the appropriate liturgical texts, or a desire to distribute the proper celebration of saints more evenly across the year.

4:4. Conclusions

Earlier in this chapter, I suggested that Hamburg-Bremen was part, if on the outskirts, of a German 'system' wherein liturgical texts, books, and scribal expertise were exchanged liberally between different centres. It is important to stress that this system was not closed: to return to the example of Bamberg, close to a third of its earliest manuscripts were of French or Italian origin.[591] Asser's Lund is, instead, an example of a centre which made use of the system, and tapped its resources from the outside. Asser and his canons achieved this, in part, by establishing a number of links with the world of German canons regular, thereby showing both remarkable foresight (in particular by the early, if partial, adoption of the Marbach customary) and a certain over-eagerness and lack of long-term pragmatism, the tendencies which Josef Siegwart found so tragic among twelfth-century reformers. St Lawrence's was not a passive recipient of cultural goods: it adapted the Marbach statutes, and the interaction with Helmarhausen shows how Lund at this stage, when creating its own liturgical profile, was not simply importing books and rites, but took an active part in their making. Of course, the overall impression of St Lawrence's compared to cathedral chapters in post-Carolingian Europe is still of a peripheral centre: Ellen Jørgensen remarked in 1912 that little had been written about Danish cathedrals as cultural centres, about 'a Lund scribal school, in the same way as one speaks of a Winchester or a Canterbury school, which produced distinctive

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[590] Seegrün, *Das Erzbistum*, pp. 64–5. Adalbero also restored Hamburg's cathedral chapter in 1140, which began a long-standing struggle over prominence between the two cathedrals: ibid., pp. 65–7.

[591] Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften*, p.1.

manuscripts'.[592] The comparison with Winchester and Canterbury is aiming rather too high; and the stylistic heterogeneity of the products of Asser's chapter indicate that the training, tradition, and resources necessary for a distinctive scribal or artistic profile were not yet in place.

The picture of St Lawrence's cathedral chapter under Asser given by the remains of its book collection seems to suit neither the unprincipled and all-too-worldly archbishop of the Roskilde chronicle, nor the heroic liberator from the Saxon yoke described in Saxo: instead he seems an ambitious reformer, and his preparedness to celebrate the Hamburg-Bremen heritage of the Danish church sits ill with the common depiction of the period as characterised by constant tension and conflict between the two. Furthermore, Lauritz Weibull was wrong to suggest that Danish churchmen of the early twelfth century would have had little time to relate to church-political developments *ute i världen*, 'in the world outside'.[593] Doubtless there is some truth to Herbord of Michelsberg's description of the Danish church as materially primitive in comparison with Continental centres, but much of the interest in Asser's Lund lies in the tension between its basic resources and its eagerness to follow and participate in twelfth-century modernity, in the deep cultural change in which European clergy were embroiled. This tension defined its activity and outlook.

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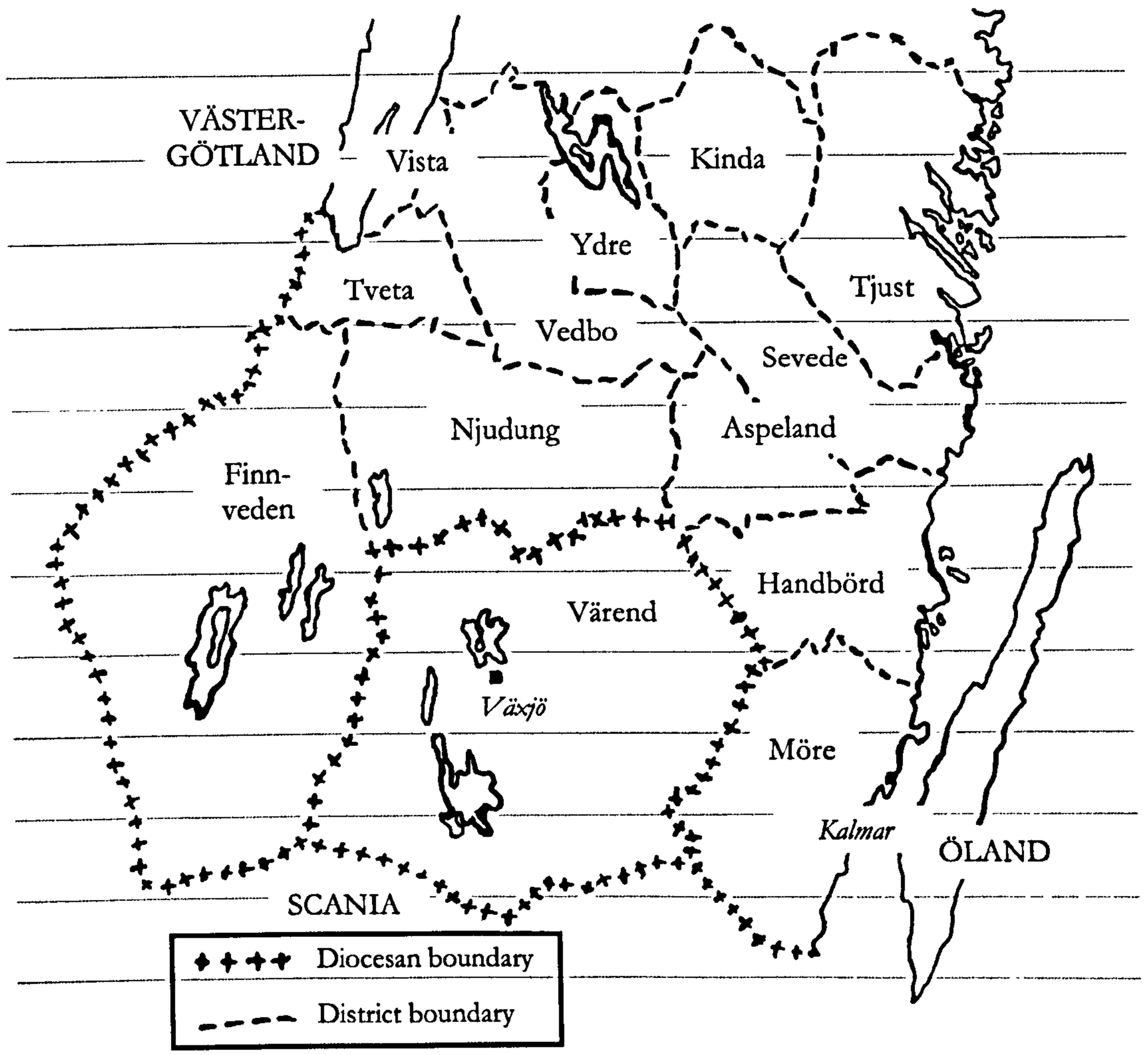
[592] Jørgensen, 'Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger', p. 5: 'en Lundeskriveskole paa samme Vis, som man taler om en Winchesterskole og en Canterburyskole, hvorfra Manuskripter med særpræg udgik'.

[593] Weibull, 'Skånes kyrka', p. 174.



Map 3. Medieval Småland

5. The Småland Breviary Fragments

Introduction

This chapter returns to the fragment material discussed above in chapter two. It is also intended to be a contrast to the previous chapter: if that was about urban Christianity, and a locality which is well-attested by medieval Scandinavian standards, this is about the rural church in an obscure region. As I noted above, given the high numbers of fragments from the twelfth century and later in the collections in Scandinavian archives, considering every fragment in detail, even from a particular period, or a particular book, is a practical impossibility, especially when the fragments are still attached to the heavy early modern account volumes. There are instead two possible ways of approaching the collections: either choosing a small number of fragments to analyse after superficial inspection, or using catalogues and inventories to narrow the collection down into a group, which can be analysed as a whole. For the collection in Stockholm, where all fragments have now been catalogued in the MPO database, the latter method is particularly viable; furthermore, as I have been unable to do most of my research *in situ*, have had to work from photographs, and have been unable to browse thousands of twelfth-century fragments to find the few that might be of interest, this approach has been a necessity. Given the care and expertise put into the MPO database, it is by no means as problematic as it could have been in less favourable circumstances.

Among twelfth-century fragments with German affiliations, one such group is immediately apparent: a large number of fragments of breviaries, books containing the chants, readings, and prayers for the performance of the liturgical hours or divine office.[594] Overwhelmingly, they have been used to bind accounts from a particular province in southern Sweden, Småland. The south of Småland marked, in the middle ages, the border between Denmark and Sweden. It also marked, and still marks, a significant geological border. Here ends the northern European plain, low-lying and

[594] I have used both terms interchangeably in this chapter.

covered in muddy, fertile sediments, and begins the Fenno-Scandinavian pre-Cambrian bedrock, difficult to cultivate, dominated by thick deciduous forest.[595] For, say, a travelling churchman going north from the Continent, this is where the landscape would have started to take on noticeably alien features. Also in comparison with the lands to its immediate north – the old *Kulturlandschaften* of Östergötland and Västergötland – Småland was sparsely populated, wild, and stony. Well into the twelfth century, the region had a reputation for persistent heathendom.[596]

The criteria for delimiting the fragment group under consideration here are, then, as follows: manuscript fragments in the SRA, dated in the MPO to the twelfth century, listed as German in origin, and with a Småland archival signature (that is, which have been used to bind the accounts of royal bailiffs active in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Småland). The basis for the attribution to Germany in the database has normally been the script, or (most frequently) the musical notation, rather than content.[597] At my last count (January 2010) the MPO database listed fifty-two fragments from thirty-nine different books which fell within these categories. These numbers, it should be noted, could well be subject to substantial revision: not all fragments in the catalogue are dated, many not localised, and in some cases the date and origin given in the database could be disputed. If anything, the number of relevant fragments is likely to be higher. This is nonetheless more than enough material to begin the present investigation. The fragments are listed below in section 5:2:1. Again as noted above, the association between archival signature in the Stockholm collection and medieval provenance is by no means straightforward – accounts could have been bound locally or in the capital.[598] In this case, however, with a large, comparatively homogeneous group of fragments, the

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[595] Sporrong, 'The Scandinavian Landscape', pp. 18–19; Fredén, ed., *National Atlas of Sweden: Geology*, pp. 16–21 and 104–19.

[596] See below, pp. 221–3.

[597] See the forthcoming Brunius, 'Zentrum und Peripherie'.

[598] See above, pp. 58–9.

association with Småland is relatively strong. Nonetheless, the scholar must – as so often when dealing with medieval Sweden – simply accept that any conclusions must be phrased not as certainties, but as tendencies, or as probabilities of varying degrees. It must also be noted that the prevalence of fragments with a Småland provenance among twelfth-century breviaries is, at least to some extent, a result of uneven post-medieval survival patterns (the primary suspect would be the Stockholm palace fire of 1697, in which many of the surviving account books were visibly charred): overall, the activities of Småland bailiffs are disproportionately represented in the collection. Of the 22,909 fragments listed in total in the MPO, as many as 3,793 are from Småland archives (not counting fragments which have been removed from the account books). In second place comes Östergötland, just north of Småland, with 1,824 fragments. In comparison, there are only 1,317 fragments used to bind accounts from Uppland (excluding Stockholm).[599] It is therefore quite possible that the conclusions reached in the discussion below could be extended also to other areas of Sweden, where the evidence has simply been lost. I have, where it has been relevant, taken some twelfth-century breviary fragments with archival provenances other than Småland into account.

At a first glance, this group of fragments seems mysterious: before the early thirteenth century, the breviary is generally taken to have been a predominantly monastic phenomenon, limited in circulation, and an 'occasional' book to be used in special circumstances – by travellers, in the infirmary, and so on. Why should there be so many breviaries surviving (if only in fragment) from twelfth-century Sweden, and from the dense forests of Småland at that - all, insofar as it is possible to tell, notated books, not suitable for travelling celebrants, following secular use? As I have argued below, a closer look reveals some of this mystery to be illusory, but the fragments can nonetheless provide several insights into Christian practice in the twelfth-century Swedish countryside. The chapter is divided into two subchapters. In the first of these, I have placed the Småland breviary fragments within two contexts: first, within the context of liturgical development in eleventh- and twelfth-century

[599] These numbers were noted in January 2010.

western churches, and changing preconditions for the liturgy of the hours – the 'genesis of the breviary'; second, within the context of the development and manifestations of Christianity that can be perceived in twelfth-century Småland. The second subchapter continues the discussion of the fragments, as a group and using individual examples, in terms of content, format, and handwriting.

5:1. Contextualising the Småland Breviary Fragments

5:1:1. A Liturgical Context

'The history of the breviary has', according to one recent commentator, 'benefited from the assiduous work of numerous liturgists, to the point where, today, we are in the position of being able to reconstitute the different stages of the genesis and development of this book during the middle ages and the following centuries'.[600] The comment seems overly optimistic: for one thing, the 'numerous liturgists' have often disagreed in their conclusions. Furthermore, much of the scholarship comes from an era when liturgists worked with assumptions, priorities, and methods which will seem outdated to many people today. It will therefore be necessary to go through again the various problems associated with trying to answer quite when, why, and how the breviary appeared and became widespread in the Christian West. I should stress that I have no intention of providing a new, alternative account of the genesis of the breviary here. It would be absurd to try and rewrite the history of books of the divine office based on fragmentary material from the outskirts of European Christendom: any such investigation must take into account primarily complete manuscripts. However, when, as is the case in Sweden, a large number of fragments have been catalogued and are easily accessible, fragmentary material

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[600] Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques*, p. 180: 'L'histoire du bréviaire a bénéficié du travail assidu de nombreux liturgistes, si bien que l'on est aujourd'hui en mesure de reconstituer les étapes de la genèse et du développement de ce livre pendant le Moyen Age et au cours des siècles ultérieurs'.

provides a good opportunity to at least glimpse a quantitative corrective to models based on statistical analysis of a rather small number of complete codices.

First, some definitions and terminological considerations: to the modern liturgist, the breviary is, as noted above, the book collecting the texts necessary for the performance of the liturgical hours – readings, chants, and prayers. These texts are combined into discrete offices, arranged according to the liturgical year, usually divided into a temporal, a sanctoral, and a *commune sanctorum*.[601] Often, the Psalter and a calendar are included as well, sometimes also a separate collection of hymns, or miscellaneous offices (of the Virgin, of the dead, and so on).[602] The musical elements are sometimes notated, sometimes not. It is commonly agreed that the breviary first appeared in the eleventh century, underwent a long infancy and adolescence, and came into its true prime in the thirteenth century.[603] It subsequently became so widespread that, in modern parlance, the word 'breviary' has come to function as a shorthand term for the texts contained within the liturgy of the hours. Thus, for example, Suitbert Bäumer's classic history of the breviary is only marginally concerned with the history of the breviary as a book: it is in fact a history of development of the liturgy of the hours.[604] In medieval terminology, the term *breviarium* had a wide range of meanings, and could denote almost any form of shortening or abbreviation.[605]

Structurally, the liturgical hours in the western church were relatively stable by the eleventh century. After the Carolingian-period reforms, the office had effectively been divided into a monastic use and a secular use. Both consisted of a set of eight daily hours (matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline) of

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[601] See, for an introduction, Gy, 'La mise en page du bréviaire'.

[602] Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 238–42.

[603] Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques*, pp. 180–3, is an excellent summary of this development.

[604] Bäumer is normally cited in the revised French translation by Réginald Biron (from German: id., *Geschichte des Breviers*): *Histoire du bréviaire*. On the breviary as a book, see ibid., pp. 47 and 64–5.

[605] Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Büchertitel* I, 11–18.

chanting, reading, and praying; and both prescribed the recitation of every psalm of the Psalter at least once over the course of a week. The two uses differed in the structure of the psalmody, in the singing of particular canticles, and – most readily apparent to the modern student of medieval liturgical books – in the number of lessons assigned to each nocturn at matins.[606] Monastic life permitted more time for an elaborate celebration of the daily round of offices, and when the prescriptions for the life of clerics living in community (canons) were codified, in the rule of Chrodegang of Metz (probably around 755), and the influential rule of Aachen (816), it effectively represented a partial monasticisation of clerical life.[607] Before the introduction of the breviary, monks, nuns, and clerics alike would have required a number of different books for the celebration of the office, used by different people in different parts of the church: books of prayer and reading at the altar, books of chants, psalms, and hymns in the choir.[608] They were obliged to celebrate the full hours only in a communal setting – that is: if, for example, a churchman were to find himself alone – travelling, or serving a small church or chapel – he was not expected to sing the full office, with antiphons, hymns, responsories, and so on, to himself eight times a day. Travelling with a full set of choir books would have been impractical. For the conscientious, a number of simplified alternatives existed, and practice would have varied depending on how many devotional texts the churchman in question knew by heart.[609]

It has usually been said that the medieval breviary existed in two forms. In the introduction to his survey of breviary manuscripts in French public libraries, this is how Victor Leroquais put it in 1934:

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[606] For the structure of the office, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 50–80.

[607] For the best introduction in English to the Carolingian rules for canonical life, see Barrow, 'Chrodegang, his Rule and its Successors'; for the rule of Aachen, see *Institutio canonicorum*, edited by Werminghoff; cf. also the Lund customary, as above pp. 191–2. See also Black, 'The Divine Office', pp. 55–9.

[608] Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques*, pp. 138–9.

[609] Van Dijk and Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, pp. 36–44.

> The middle ages practised two types of breviary: the choir breviary of imposing dimensions, with very long lessons, for the solemn and public offices; and the chamber- or travelling breviary for private recitation.[610]

The fragments in Stockholm belong overwhelmingly to the former type: according to Felix Heinzer, 'what is found in the MPO are mostly ... leaves of large size breviaries with musical notation (characteristic of community singing of the office), but [there is] almost no trace of breviaries for individual use'.[611] Heinzer – the only scholar so far to have commented on the breviary fragments in Stockholm in print – has convincingly pointed out that this, to a great extent, may well be a question of survival patterns: 'private' breviaries were too small to be useful as covers for large the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tax accounts. To Leroquais, it seems clear that when the first full single-volume compilations of office texts begin to appear, they were a reaction to broad spiritual changes which had led to an increasing demand for books for private recitation: 'it was private recitation of the office which [gave] birth to the new manuscript which would come to be called "breviary"'.[612] When the history of the early breviary came to be written anew some twenty-five years after Leroquais, the conclusions on this subject could hardly have been more different: 'private recitation of the office played no role whatsoever in this evolution', countered Pierre Salmon.[613] Salmon's brief and brilliant sketch of the divine office in the middle ages has become the standard account of the subject, together with the contemporaneous collaboration between Stephen van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker on *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, which,

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[610] Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits* I, lvii: 'Le moyen âge a pratiqué deux sortes de bréviaires: la bréviaire de choeur aux dimensions imposantes et aux leçons très longues pour l'office public et solennel, et le bréviaire de chambre ou de voyage pour la récitation privée'.

[611] Heinzer, 'Cutting the Tradition', p. 21.

[612] Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits* I, liii : 'c'est la récitation privée de l'office qui va donner naissance au nouveau manuscrit qui prendra le nom « bréviaire »'.

[613] Salmon, *L'office divin*, p. 63: 'la récitation privée de l'office n'a jouée aucun rôle dans cette évolution'.

independently, reached many similar conclusions.[614] They both – and here they agreed with Leroquais – argued that the breviary in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was an overwhelmingly monastic book. It was created partly through the shortening of lessons, partly through the reduction of the repertoire of chants and prayers, and most importantly by the creation of a complex system of cross-references, which allowed an enormous amount of texts to be condensed into one, or sometimes two volumes. To van Dijk and Hazelden Walker, it was an essentially intellectual phenomenon, the 'inevitable conclusion' of Carolingian monastic reform, by which every monk had become 'a professional liturgist ... Thus the breviary [was] the result of the changing concept of monastic life, the fruit of higher intellectual level; in origin, it arose out of the social order rather than from private need'.[615]

The connection with Carolingian-period reform is problematic: no complete manuscripts survive from before the eleventh century, and the ninth- and tenth-century office-book fragments which have been called 'breviary fragments' are hardly from a breviary in any conventional sense of the word.[616] Salmon, probably wisely, pointed instead towards eleventh-century reform, and towards the profusion of small monastic houses and communities of canons regular where new ideals of apostolic life demanded an intense application to the liturgy – simoniacs and Nicolaites, he assumed, had largely abandoned the divine office. In the new, smaller houses, large-scale celebration of the hours was not possible, but the breviary – still 'choral', not portable, but small enough to be passed between the hands of celebrants – enabled a handful of monks or canons to achieve observational regularity.[617] Both Salmon and van Dijk/Hazelden Walker put great emphasis on Rome and on the early

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[614] van Dijk and Hazelden Walker, *The Origins*, pp. 26–44.

[615] Ibid., p. 35.

[616] As noted by Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques*, p. 181 ; cf. for example Gamber, 'Ein Brevier-Fragment'.

[617] Salmon, *L'office divin*, pp. 81–5. The notion that married clergy or simoniacs would automatically be negligent in their liturgy is commonplace, and repeated by many modern scholars. See for example Cattaneo, 'Azione pastorale e vita liturgica locale', p. 453.

thirteenth century as the place and the time in which the breviary really came into its own: in the preceding centuries books were characterised by variability in form and content; by their 'public' nature (as indicated by the inclusion of musical notation and relatively large-scale format); and by limited diffusion – the breviary was confined to 'certain circles'.[618] This situation only changed after the creation of an abbreviated office liturgy for the chapel in the Lateran palace under Innocent III (first visible in an ordinal of 1213×16), suitable for travellers and private recitation; and the adoption and dissemination of this office liturgy by the Franciscan order.[619] Only after this date did the twofold division of the breviary into public and (much more common) private books apply. The question of how and when exactly this breviary, which came to form the basis for the 'modern' Roman breviary, in use until the council of Trent, and in a modified form until the Second Vatican Council, was created, has dominated most scholarship on the subject (notably the classic 'histories of the breviary' by Bäumer and Pierre Batiffol), particularly whether it relied on liturgical reforms effected before the pontificate of Innocent III.[620]

Two problematic assumptions underlie many of these arguments: first, that Rome was the source of most, if not all, liturgical innovation which was ultimately significant. To an extent, of course, this makes sense: Rome *was* central to a great deal of liturgical action, and a number of Western rites prescribed the re-enactment of celebrations created specifically for the churches of Rome, and the reproduction of Rome's sacred geography.[621] But for church reformers of many kinds, 'Roman' was also convenient rhetorical shorthand for what was right and proper. Liturgical innovation and liturgical change also occurred in response to new circumstances: the great liturgical projects associated with the Carolingians and the Ottonians were

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[618] van Dijk and Hazelden Walker, *The Origins*, p. 36.

[619] Salmon, *L'office divin*, pp. 147–70.

[620] Batiffol, *Histoire du bréviaire*, pp. 179–265 (on the 'prétendue réforme de Grégoire VII', pp. 188–96); Bäumer, *Histoire du bréviaire* II, 1–62 (against Batiffol, pp. 1–7); Salmon, *L'office divin*, pp. 124–51; van Dijk and Hazelden Walker, *The Origins*, pp. 91–178.

[621] Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* I, 88–100.

legitimated by association with Rome, but they were largely carried out by churchmen north of the Alps.[622] The second problematic assumption is that liturgical innovation by necessity means *textual* innovation. For most twentieth-century historians of the breviary this, again, made sense: the first generation can be associated with the 'Liturgical Movement' of the late nineteenth century (Bäumer and Batiffol), the second (Salmon and van Dijk/Hazelden Walker) with the reforms of the Second Vatican Council; their concern was with the present as much as with the past, and – unlike most historians, ever since Marc Bloch pointed out the pitfalls of the *obsession [illegible]* – they certainly saw no reasons to shun the search for origins.[623] Medieval novelty and innovation were characterised as 'accretions' or 'decadence'; late antiquity and the early middle ages, compared to the relatively well-attested central and late middle ages, were given hugely disproportionate attention; practice and ritual were secondary concerns at best.[624] With the exception of Joan Hazelden Walker, the most important historians of the breviary were all monks or priests, and it could hardly have been a coincidence that van Dijk (OFM) put such great emphasis on the Franciscans as a driving force in the development of the medieval liturgical hours, whereas Salmon (OSB) chose to emphasise eleventh-century monastic reform. Modern scholars of medieval liturgy, on the other hand,

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[622] For example: the so-called *Hadrianum* type of the Gregorian sacramentary may be associated by name with two popes (it was based on a text sent to Francia by Hadrian I, which he attributed to Gregory the Great), but in the form in which was diffused in Carolingian Europe it had been so extensively reworked by Frankish reformers as to be almost unrecognisable (Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques*, pp. 72–8); the same applies to the so-called Gelasian sacramentary (ibid., 67–72) and the 'two great cultic monuments of the Ottonian Renaissance' (Elze and Vogel, ed., *PRG* III, 3: '[les] deux monuments cultuels majeurs de la renaissance ottonienne'), the so-called Romano-Germanic Pontifical and the Fulda ('mixed' Gelasian-Gregorian) sacramentary: ibid. and Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda*.

[623] On the history of liturgical scholarship in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques*, pp 30–31; Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire*, p. 86.

[624] Similar tendencies can still be observed: for example, a recent introductory article on the development of the divine office and private devotion in the middle ages devotes less than one and a half pages, out of twenty-three, to the post-Carolingian period: Black, 'The Divine Office and Private Devotion' (pp. 59–1). On 'decadence', see for example Salmon, *L'office divin*, p. 85.

keen to shake off the reputation of the liturgist as interested only in dusty textual history, and monkishly isolated from other disciplines, have emphasised locality and liturgical variety: there was no such thing as *the* medieval liturgy, and liturgy, as ritual, took meaningful shape only in performance.[625]

For the purposes of the present study, the modern breviary, or the Roman breviary of Innocent III's Lateran chapel and the Franciscans, are of little interest. The pre-1200 breviary is an object of study deserving of attention in its own right, not only as an imperfect preliminary phase on the road towards the 'modern' Roman liturgy. I am also going to reject the notion that the breviary came into being as a study tool, which has no support in the manuscript evidence. Instead, I will propose two practical senses in which the breviary both reflected eleventh- and twelfth-century religious change, and created preconditions for religious change: a logistical aspect and an organisational aspect.[626]

First, *logistical*, in the sense that the breviary allowed a small-scale semblance of the choral liturgy of the monastic or clerical community as described above. It should be noted here that the insistence on the complete insignificance of private recitation before 1200 in much of the literature is slightly misguided: a considerable number of the surviving earliest manuscripts listed by Salmon and van Dijk and Hazelden Walker contain no musical notation, and there are rather more prominent examples

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[625] See for example Flanigan (edited by Nils Holger Petersen), 'Medieval Liturgy and the Arts', pp. 11–12, highly critical of traditional liturgical scholarship, characterised (in many ways, to my mind, unfairly) as 'the history of the sources, positivist in its orientation, displaying *a.* a lack of interdisciplinarity ... with assumptions about the continuity between the medieval and modern church ... *b.* It exhibits a lack of a hermeneutical perspective: It contains an implicit assumption that history can be know without our contemporary engagement with it. *c.* Above all, it contains a refusal to ask the question in broad human terms of why people performed these rites'.

[626] The following paragraphs are indebted to the definitions by Salmon (*L'office divin*, p. 63): 'On peut dire qu'à l'origine du Bréviaire on trouve deux intentions: celle de grouper en un volume le plus d'éléments possibles de l'office, et celle de donner une description ou un modèle des différents offices'.

of private recitation of the liturgy of the hours before the Franciscans than these scholars seem to have been willing to admit.[627] In fact, many pre-1200 breviaries were written for liturgical circumstances in which common expectations of what constitutes 'public', 'communal' or 'private' liturgy do not apply. For example, a Cistercian breviary from 1132 (without notation) was thought by its editor to have been written for the monk assigned to recite the office in the infirmary.[628] In some books neumes have been added only occasionally, seemingly as an afterthought. Furthermore, notated offices were not always necessarily sung, and notation still had an immanent significance, even in silent devotion.[629]

Second, o*rganisational*, in that the breviary made the dissemination of a whole year's offices from one church to another easier, and left the individual celebrant with a much smaller scope when it came to selection of texts for a particular service. Within ecclesiastical hierarchies or religious orders concerned with ordering and excluding, and with ritual uniformity, it was a very useful instrument. In this respect, it was related to the ordinal – the rather shorter book containing an overview of the liturgy in a particular place or area, arranged according to the calendar, and providing incipits and short instructions – which appeared in Europe at around the same time.[630] For the new religious orders – Cistercians, various types of canons regular, and so on – such books were of particular value, as they helped them to distinguish and delimit their customs from those of their rivals and predecessors.[631]

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[627] See for example Arno of Reichersberg's *Scutum canonicorum*, *PL* CXCIV, col. 1500, where he mentioned *vigilias et orationes ac laudes matutinas publicas ac privatas*. The Cistercian *Usus conversorum* (probably of the early 1120s) required even lay brothers to recite their *entire* hours liturgy (highly simplified compared to the monks', with the psalmody replaced by repetition of basic prayers) *sub silentio* when alone: Waddell, *Cistercian Lay Brothers*, pp. 57–9 and 166–8. Cf. Salmon, *L'office divin*, p. 20 and van Dijk and Hazelden Walker, *The Origins*, pp. 36–44.

[628] Waddell, ed., *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary*, p. 34.

[629] For example in London, BL, Add. 18302, a twelfth-century collection of miscellaneous, 'votive' offices that would have been of little use in the choir.

[630] Martimort, *Les 'ordines', les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*; Foley, 'The Libri ordinarii'.

[631] On the earliest Cistercian breviaries, see Waddell, ed., *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary*.

Both of these aspects are neatly illustrated by an account of how a scribe, and a well-known scribe and author at that, invented at least a form of breviary in the eleventh century, clearly a novelty at the time. The passage seems to have been ignored by most commentators on the subject. This was Otloh of St Emmeram (dead around 1072), Bavarian monk and self-confessed graphomaniac, writing towards the end of his soul-searching *Liber de temptatione cuiusdam monachi*.[632] After the account of the visionary experience of 'a certain monk', written in a curious narratorial structure which strongly implies that the main character is identical with the author, Otloh abandoned the third-person narrative entirely, and detailed his achievements in the scriptorium. Among the many books he had personally copied, for the abbey of St Emmeram itself and for friends in other places, were

> four matutinals; one in particular, which was written for friends in Bohemia, was of such completeness that it covered the entire yearly cycle according to our custom, both ferial days and other days. As it clearly was of great usefulness, a certain brother of ours named Reginbert had a copy made, and it is now kept among us. As it was compiled from many books, it would seem quite necessary to those otherwise constrained by the lack of books.[633]

Strictly, the book described here may have been a matutinal (or nocturnal) – a book containing only the night offices, which had to be complemented by a diurnal – but the term *liber matutinalis* was often used to denote a breviary, since matins was the longest of the hours, contained the highest proportion of proper texts, and dominated

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[632] On Otloh, see for example Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram', pp. 88–115 or Schauwecker, 'Otloh von St Emmeram'.

[633] Otloh of St Emmeram, *Liber de temptatione* (ed. Gäbe, p. 356): 'Ad hęc etiam scripsi .IIII. matutinales libros, quorum unus quibusdam amicis in Poemia constitutis scriptus tantae plentitudinis erat, ut per anni circulum iuxta morem nostrum tam in feriis quam in aliis diebus conscriptus habeatur. Quem scilicet cum tantę utilitatis esse videretur, quidam frater noster nomine Reginpertus scribi fecit, et apud nos habetur. Hic ergo ex libris multis conscriptus his, quos librorum penuria constringit, satis necessarius erit'.

the pages of the breviary.[634] No liturgical books written by Otloh have survived, but his account is nonetheless a remarkable insight into a scribal mind, and testament to his considerable organisational ability. The passage shows how liturgical innovation can be driven by necessity, and how the impetus and motivation for liturgical and religious change could come, not from the long-established churches of the Christian centre, but from the needs of the comparatively young, peripheral church in Bohemia, 'constrained by the lack of books'.

Otloh was writing about a monastery; the Småland breviary fragments can only – as I have argued below – convincingly be associated with local, rural, secular churches. To understand how such churches fit into the liturgical argument sketched above, it is necessary to turn to very broad developments in the organisation and practice of the secular church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, developments related to demographic change: the rapid growth in numbers of small, local churches across the Continent, Scandinavia, and the British Isles; and, in turn, the redefinition of the prerogatives of the small, local churches – the diffusion of rights and duties previously associated with collegiate and episcopal churches to a lower level.[635] This decentralisation and fragmentation of religious activity resulted in the birth of

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[634] Otloh thus has the double honour of having 'invented' both the breviary and the Holy Roman Empire, or at least been the first attested person in the middle ages to use the phrase *sacrum imperium* (in a charter forgery attributed to Arnold of Carinthia: Kehr, ed., *Arnolfi diplomata*, no. 190; Weinfurter, 'Wie das Reich heilig wurde', p. 191). On the frequency of the term *matutinale* or *liber matutinalis* to signify a breviary, see Seeberg, *Die Illustrationen im Admonter Nonnenbrevier*, p. 31.

[635] On this process see, for Germany, Kurze, 'Ländliche Gemeinde und Kirche in Deutschland'; for East Central Europe, Kloczowski, 'Les paroisses en Bohême, en Hongrie et en Pologne'; on Poland specifically, Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes and Society*, pp. 29–48 and Rosik and Urbańczyk, 'The Kingdom of Poland', pp. 295–8; for England, Gem, 'The English Parish Church', Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 368–504, id., 'Les recherches récentes', and id., 'Churches in the Early English Landscape'; for Scotland, Cameron, 'The Church in Scotland in the Later 11th and 12th Centuries'; for France, Iogna-Prat and Zadora-Rio, 'Formation et transformations des territoires paroissiaux' as an introduction, and below; for Scandinavia, Smedberg, *Nordens första kyrkor*, pp. 5–87, P. H. Sawyer, 'Dioceses and Parishes', most importantly Brink, *Sockenbildning och sockennamn*, pp. 68–122, and below pp. 226–31.

what was to become one of the most significant forms of local territorial and communal organisation in Europe, well into the modern period: the parish. North of the Alps in particular, the ecclesiastical landscape became dominated by the Romanesque parish church, with its baptismal font, its churchyard, and its bell-tower. The sudden increase in the number of churches has been called 'a medieval great rebuilding', and – cleverly connecting it to much-disputed social and political developments supposedly underway in Europe at the same time – a process of *inecclesiamento*.[636] It is important to note that this process occurred across almost all of central and western Europe. Traditionally, the parish was considered a Carolingian phenomenon, which in the eleventh century spread to areas outside the post-Carolingian world, until then dominated by two-tier systems, where collegiate churches with baptismal rights (Anglo-Saxon minsters and Italian *pievi*, notably) served smaller chapels in the surrounding countryside.[637] Recent scholarship has however made it increasingly clear that, also in France, 'the notion of the parish is still entirely embryonic in the ninth century, and does not reach its maturity until the eleventh and twelfth centuries'.[638] French archaeologists and historians have put

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[636] Gem, 'The English Parish Church', p. 21 (the medieval 'great rebuilding'); Lauwers, *Naissance du cimetière*, p. 273 ('inecclesiamento'); cf. *incastellamento*, a term used notably by Pierre Toubert (*Les structures du Latium médiéval* I, 303–447; see also the various papers on the subject in Barceló and Toubert, ed., *« L'incastellamento »*) to describe the proliferation of castles during the so-called 'feudal transformation' (or even 'revolution'). On whether such a transformation actually took place, see the debate in *Past and Present* between Thomas Bisson ('The "Feudal Revolution"') and his respondents Dominique Barthélémy, Stephen D. White, Timothy Reuter, and Chris Wickham ('Debate: The "Feudal Revolution" [I–IV]'), with numerous references.

[637] It should be stressed that these 'systems' were never particularly systematic, and that, on a local level, the distinction between church and chapel was often not clear: Zadora-Rio, 'Territoires paroissiaux et construction de l'espace vernaculaire', pp. 113–15; see also Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 4–5, with references to some of the criticisms of the so-called 'minster model', a term Blair has now rejected. For liturgical practice in the pre-parochial Anglo-Saxon church, see Addleshaw, *The Early Parochial System and the Divine Office*.

[638] Iogna-Prat and Zadora-Rio, 'Formation et transformations des territoires paroissiaux', p. 9: 'il apparaît que la notion de paroisse est encore tout à fait embryonnaire au IX^{e} siècle et qu'elle n'arrive à maturité que vers les XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles'

particular emphasis on the appearance of churchyards as characteristic the clearly delimited, territorially-defined parish.[639] Their work largely confirms and adds further weight to the (at the time) radically revisionist narrative of the formation of the European parish first proposed by Susan Reynolds in the 1980s.[640] The increasing number of churches, the spread of churches also to less densely-settled rural areas, and what can be called the *encellulement* of the church (again using a term borrowed from social and political history) were necessary preconditions for the development of the parochial network which would come to dominate lay religious life both in the countryside and in towns.[641]

The liturgical implications of the Romanesque *inecclesiamento* of Europe remain unclear: contemporary commentators are difficult to interpret, and the word *parochia* – although used with increasing frequency in the sense of a territorial unit – could be taken to mean sometimes a diocese, sometimes only a vaguely defined community of believers.[642] Ecclesiological treatises and canon law collections of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were permeated with patristic modes of thought, and only occasionally reflected the changing preconditions of the contemporary rural church. It was only in the mid-thirteenth century that the parish as a judicial entity was canonically defined, by Henry of Segusio.[643] Peter Damian wrote a well-known commentary on the liturgy of the solitary celebrant, where he concluded that 'just as in Greek a man is called a microcosm, that is to say, a little world, because he consists of the same four elements that are found in the whole earth; so also each of the faithful seems to be, as it were, a little church, since, with all due respect to the

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[639] See Lauwers, *Naissance du cimetière*; Zadora-Rio, 'The Making of Churchyards and Parish Territories'; ead., 'Territoires paroissiaux et construction de l'espace vernaculaire'. For a survey of recent French scholarship on sacred space, see Palazzo, *L'espace rituel et le sacré*, pp. 13–24.

[640] Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, pp. 79–90.

[641] The term *encellulement* was used to describe social and political change in this period by Robert Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe* I, 288–601.

[642] On the word *parochia*, see Lauwers, 'Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire'.

[643] Ibid., pp. 28–30; for a history of western ecclesiology in the period 1040–1200, see Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu*, pp. 315–486.

mystery of hidden unity, each person also receives the sacraments that are common to the whole church'.[644] This, however, was directed towards hermits in their cells – *encellulement* of the liturgy in its most literal sense. One ecclesiological work, which does concern itself with small rural churches, and has often been neglected by modern scholars, is Gerhoh of Reichersberg's *De aedificio Dei* from 1128/9.[645] In this book, commissioned by the bishop of Regensburg (who was heavily criticised within it), Gerhoh provided the guidelines, if not a detailed programme, for how an *ecclesia baptismalis* should be run where there were not the resources of urban churches. Gerhoh insisted that also rural clergy should live a *vita communis*, free of personal property, and with choral observance, even if the church was served only by a priest and a deacon. All secular clergy, all *clerici proprietarii*, were effectively heretics and should be suspended from office, if not excommunicated.[646]

Gerhoh's proposals were extreme: his angry polemic against secular clergy resulted in accusations of heresy, and he had to flee Regensburg.[647] Nevertheless, some of his thinking was highly typical of his time, and provides one argument for how the new prerogatives of the local church should be reflected in the liturgy.[648] The pastoral and choral duties of the priest were not necessarily seen as contradictory: all liturgical activity, from singing matins to baptising children, was part of a ritual

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[644] Peter Damian, *Epistolae* XXVIII (1048×55; ed. Reindel, *Die Briefe* I, 262; transl. Blum, *Letters 1–30*, pp. 270): 'Sicut autem homo Greco aeloquio dicitur microcosmo, hoc est minor mundus, quoniam per materialem essentiam eisdem quattuor elementis homo constat, quibus et universalis hic mundus, ita etiam unusquisque fidelium quasi quaedam minor esse videtur aecclesia, dum salvo unitatis archanae mysterio, etiam cuncta redemptionis humanae unus homo suscipit sacramenta, quae ipsi universali aecclesia sunt divinitus attributa'.

[645] PL CXCIV, cols 1187–1336.

[646] Ibid., cols 1306–7; see also the commentary by Cattaneo, 'Azione pastorale e vita liturgica locale', pp. 463–6; and Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg*, pp. 40–7.

[647] Ibid., pp. 47–57.

[648] See notably Cattaneo, 'Azione pastorale e vita liturgica locale', p. 463, who emphasised that Gerhoh's attitude reflected 'a mentality of the time, that of the most decisive reformers of ecclesiastical life', also outside Germany ('una mentalità del tempo, quella dei più decisi riformatori della vita ecclesiale').

continuum, and lay patrons saw great benefits in regular commemoration and worship.[649] The Småland breviary fragments indicate that similar ideals lay behind the provision of books to the church in twelfth-century Sweden. They are thus of some importance as a counterweight to assertions about the twelfth-century breviary being a 'book of convenience', mostly used by monastic communities.[650] That there should be so many of them – remains of thirty-nine books from Småland alone, exactly as many as the complete pre-1200 secular breviaries van Dijk and Hazelden Walker could list in 1960 – could have two explanations: the fragments could be from a type of book that in the twelfth century was widespread, and commonly used in a local- or parish context in much of western Christendom – it just so happens that complete books of this kind and age are unlikely to have survived to the modern period.[651] The notated breviary was a largely out-of-date format by the later middle ages; they were very seldom high-grade books, they were used extensively every day and very liable to wear and tear, and they allowed – unless partially supplanted by other books – little liturgical flexibility. In southern Sweden on the other hand, the land was poor, and priests were forced not to discard their ancient books until the Reformation. The other explanation is rather different – this would be that the breviaries are typical of a particular set of liturgical circumstances: this book type was popular in southern Sweden because it suited the twelfth-century local Swedish church particularly well. Such an argument can also be convincing: these books are suited to a small-scale liturgy, with one or two celebrants, and straddle the definitions of private and public office celebration. For an ambitious church where

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[649] Schreiber, 'Gregor VII., Cluny, Cîteaux, Prémontré'; Cattaneo, 'La vita comune dei chierici e la liturgia'; Duby, 'Les chanoines réguliers et la vie économique'.

[650] Cf. Waddell, ed., *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary*, p. 34: 'at best a book of "convenience", useful for the monk who was travelling, or (more likely) for the monk who was assigned to pray the Office for the benefit of monks confined to the infirmary'.

[651] van Dijk and Hazelden Walker, *The Origins*, pp. 528–42. Their list could likely be expanded, and they admitted to the existence of 'innumerable fragments' (ibid., p. 528), which for (quite understandable) practical reasons could not be included. The contrast with the Stockholm fragment collection is nonetheless striking.

few liturgical personnel were available, such books could seem ideal.[652] The two interpretations are of course not mutually exclusive, and, in all likelihood, both are true.

5:1:2. A Church-Historical Context

Småland is a modern Swedish province (*landskap*), and the term province has been used here to describe medieval Småland. It was, however, never a medieval administrative entity, neither secular nor ecclesiastical.[653] In fact, as the name Småland indicates – literally 'the small lands' – it was a blanket term for a group of thirteen districts, whose fundamental common trait was that they did not form part of any of the provinces which surrounded them.[654] As the middle ages went on, Småland gradually came to be thought of as a single province, but only in the late medieval period did its inhabitants begin to identify themselves as Smålanders.[655] Archaeologists and historical geographers have argued that this small-scale territorial division was clearly and firmly in place already in the pre-Christian period.[656] The larger 'small lands' were in turn divided into hundreds, to a total of twenty-one. The three largest districts, Finnveden, Njudung, and Värend, formed a juridical entity, known as Tiohärad ('the ten hundreds'), and were covered by the same provincial law-code by the early thirteenth century at the latest.[657] Twelve of the districts were under the diocesan authority of Linköping in Östergötland,

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[652] On liturgical personnel in the medieval Scandinavian church, see Andrén and Magnús Már Lárusson, 'Liturgiska funktionärer'.

[653] Larsson, *Småländsk medeltid*, pp. 9–10.

[654] Two of the medieval districts are not part of modern Småland (Ydre and Kinda, now part of Östergötland). Mo hundred, now in western Småland, was part of Västergötland in the middle ages: see for Franzén, 'Kyrkan i landskapet', pp. 13–17 for the modern and medieval administrative and ecclesiastical divisions of the province.

[655] Larsson, *Småländsk medeltid*, p. 10.

[656] See importantly Burström, *Arkeologisk samhällsavgränsning*; Tollin, *Rågångar, gränshallar och ägoområden*, pp. 218–21.

[657] See below, pp. 238–43.

whereas Värend formed its own diocese, with a see at Växjö, founded between 1164 and 1168, when its first bishop, Baldwin, appeared in a charter of Archbishop Eskil of Lund. The man who was probably his successor, Stenar, is also only known from Lund charters.[658] This has led some scholars to speculate that the foundation of the diocese of Växjö, where later sources tell of conflict with the Linköping bishops, represented a Danish attempt to retain metropolitan authority in Sweden after the creation of the archbishopric of Uppsala in 1164. As shown by Lars-Olof Larsson, however, this argument is misguided and based on anachronistic assumptions about antagonism between Lund and Uppsala in the twelfth century. Eskil of Lund was still primate over the Swedish church, and there is no reason to assume that his position was disputed at this time.[659] In Värend, much closer to Scania than to the heartlands of Swedish royal and archiepiscopal power, his primacy would have been particularly noticeable.

Literary sources for Christianity in Småland before 1200 are, as one would expect, few and far between. The accounts which have survived tend to emphasise the desolation and wilderness which supposedly characterised the province. In Adam of Bremen's history, Värend, the 'small land' just north of the Danish border, presented a formidable obstacle between the well-established Christianity in Denmark and the – by the 1070s – much more insecure church in Götaland in southern Sweden. Even travelling by the notoriously pirate-infested Baltic Sea could be preferable. 'The densely wooded highlands and very rugged forests, over which the road from Scania into Götaland necessarily runs', Adam wrote, 'make one doubt whether perils by land are more easily avoided than perils by sea, and whether to prefer the former to the latter'.[660] Over a century later, Saxo Grammaticus still called it *deserta*

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[658] Gustafsson and Ullén, Växjö domkyrka, pp. 9–10.

[659] Larsson, *Växjö stift*, pp. 15–17.

[660] Adam, *Gesta* IV:7 (ed. Schmeidler, p. 235; transl. Tschan, p. 191): 'Ubi sunt profundi saltus montesque asperrimi, per quos a Sconia in Gothiam necessario iter agitur, ut dubites, utrum levius sit marino discrimine terrestre periculum vitare, an istud illi preponere'.

Werundiae.[661] Some of this is misleading: settlement in Småland, since the Iron Age, had been concentrated in the Möre coast and in the centre of each of the 'small lands', whose borders coincided with the most sparsely populated forrested highlands.[662] What appeared inhospitable to the outside observer could therefore, from a local point of view, look quite different. The Life of St Sigfrid, patron saint of Växjö, which survives in a late-medieval version but is generally taken to be based on an early thirteenth-century source, also emphasises the dense forests which formed the borders of Värend. The interior of the land, on the other hand, is described as 'abundant in all good things, with rivers full of fish, full of bees and honey, decorated with fertile fields and meadows, opulent with wild animals of various species'.[663] The Life goes on to tell how Sigfrid, 'archbishop of York', was sent by 'King Mildred of England' to Sweden, where he converted the king and founded the church at Växjö. An Englishman (or perhaps several Englishmen) named Sigfrid, or something similar, figure prominently in a number of accounts of missionary activity in Norway and Sweden in the early eleventh century, and the cult of St Sigfrid became important in later-medieval Sweden.[664] As should be immediately apparent even from these summary remarks, the Life is, however, of little use for scholars interested in the period it purports to describe.

Two significant events in Småland's twelfth-century history have made their way into narrative texts with some claims to reliability. The first is the so-called *Kalmare ledung*, the Kalmar levy, a raid into Möre by the Norwegian king Sigurd Jorsalfare

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[661] Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* Praef. 2:5 (ed. Friis-Jensen and transl. Zeeberg, pp. 78–9); see also XIV:12:2–5 (ibid., pp. 194–7).

[662] Hansson, *Huvudgårdar och herravälden*, p. 58.

[663] *Vita Sigfridi* (ed. Fant et al., p. 350): omnibus bonis abundans, piscosis fluminibus, apibus et melle repleta, agris fertilibus et pratis decorata, feris diversorum generum opulenta'. On the text, see for example Kjöllerström, 'Sankt Sigfrid, Sigfridslegenden och Växjö stift'.

[664] A St Sigfrid is also said to have been involved in the much-debated beginnings of Skara diocese in Västergötland: see for example Schmid, 'Sankt Sigfrid och missionen', and Edgington, 'Siward - Sigurd - Sigfrid?' for the repertoire of Sigfrids who appear in Scandinavian missionary legend. See also Rydbeck, *Den helige Sigfrid*.

('the crusader', or better 'Jerusalem-farer') in 1123. An account survives in the earliest vernacular history of Norway, *Ágrip* (normally dated to around 1190), unfortunately incomplete due to a missing leaf in the manuscript. It can however be reconstructed from the equivalent passage in the *Heimskringla* collection of the 1230s: at least the surviving section of the earlier version is virtually identical in the later compilation, and in general many passages from *Ágrip* were repeated with only minor modifications in *Heimskringla*. Here the inhabitants of Småland are described as 'not Christian, although some had accepted Christianity', apparently symptomatic of the general situation in Sweden, where 'many people [were] heathens, and many badly Christianised', and even kings guilty of apostasy and pagan sacrifices.[665] An urge to convert is posited as the primary motivation behind the raid. Most scholars have rejected this idea: rather, the attack seems to have been part of a series of raids on the Swedish coast initiated by the Danish King Niels (1103–34) and his relatives. King Sigurd, the sagas claim, took a tribute of fifteen hundred cattle from the Smålanders, converted them, and returned home with much treasure and booty. In modern scholarship, much of the account has routinely been dismissed as untrue, and King Sigurd's raid into Möre is generally taken to have been of no significance whatsoever for the Christianisation of Småland.[666] Indeed, it seems reasonable to be suspicious about the description of the expedition as a minor crusade: as will be discussed below, church buildings and archaeological finds show that Christianity was clearly established in the area by this time. The idea of the Smålanders being 'badly Christianised' may however still be of some interest: even if only used as an excuse for piracy, its currency is still noteworthy, perhaps betraying differences in opinion of how the church should function, perhaps indicating the perceived difficulties of maintaining effective religious practice in an area of wilderness.

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[665] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*: 'Magnússona saga' xxiv (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson III, 263–6; cf. the slightly diffremt translation by Hollander, pp. 705–6): 'Þeir, er þar byggðu, heldu ekki kristni, þótt sumir hefði við kristni tekit. Var þann tíma víða í Svíaveldi mart fólk heiðit ok mart illa kristnit, því at þá váru nökkurir þeir konungar, er kristni köstuðu ok heldu upp blótum'; see also *Ágrip* lvi (ed. and transl. Driscoll, pp. 74–5).

[666] See for example Hallencreutz, 'Missionsinitiativ och missionärstraditioner', p. 175.

Around two decades after the Kalmar levy, a group of monks from Clairvaux founded the abbey of Nydala in Västra hundred in Njudung.[667] The exact date is slightly unclear: Nydala was a daughter-house of Alvastra in Östergötland, the oldest Cistercian monastery in Scandinavia, and according to later local tradition they were founded on the same day in 1143, Alvastra in the morning and Nydala in the afternoon.[668] The Nydala monks can probably not be directly connected with the breviary fragments: none of these appears to follow monastic use, and the early Cistercians were forbidden to perform the secular liturgy, or engage in the pastoral life of the parish.[669] As noted above in chapter two, their appearance and earliest history can however throw light on church-political power-balance in the region, and makes apparent the links of Christianity in Småland with continental Europe. A series of twelfth- and thirteenth-century charters provide evidence of the land and revenues which were granted to the monks, but also of the problems they encountered. The abbey had a fishery in the nearby lake given to them by two brothers, but a third brother thought himself cheated of his rights, and for years persistently sabotaged Nydala's fishing equipment.[670] In 1178×81, Archbishop Absalon of Lund issued a diploma to the inhabitants of Njudung, Värend and Finnveden, accusing 'hostile and wicked men' among them of 'robbery and

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[667] Ortved, *Cistercieordenen* II, 141–224 and France, *The Cistercians*, pp. 29–31 and 118; see also several articles in Aldén, ed., *Nydala kloster*, notably Gejrot, '"I världens utkant"' and Tollin, 'Nydala klosters grundläggning och jordegendomar'.

[668] Paulsson, ed., *Annales Suecici medii aevi*, p. 375. In the oldest source, the so-called Colbaz annals from Lund (see above, p. 176 and 196), both foundations are dated to 1143: Kroman, ed., *Danmarks middelalderlige annaler*, p. 10; the influential Ryd annals, however, connected the foundation of Nydala with that of Herrevad in Skåne in the following year (ibid., pp. 164–5).

[669] Admittedly, many exceptions were made in the later middle ages, and a papal bull of 1266 allowed significant pastoral work for the Nydala monks, who were nevertheless commended for having always assiduously observed the rules: Gejrot, ed., *Diplomata Novevallensia* p. 116. A number of parish churches were committed to the monks due to lack of secular priests, but as far as is known not before the second half of the thirteenth century: Johansson, *Ritus Cisterciensis*, pp. 112–13.

[670] Gejrot, ed., *Diplomata Novevallensia*, pp. 74 and 76–7.

plundering', of attacking both the abbey's property and monks themselves.[671] It is, however, problematic to use the reaction of the locals to the newcomers as an indicator of the extent to which Christianity had penetrated the population: local hostility is almost a generic motif in Cistercian foundation narratives and suited the order's ideals of remoteness, isolation, and struggle.[672]

In modern Swedish scholarship, the study of medieval Småland has received scant attention from historians: archaeologists, place name scholars, architectural historians, and so on have however often been concerned with the province. Historical geographers – or, more generally, practitioners of so-called landscape studies (Eric Christiansen: 'a healthy outdoor pursuit, not confined to any one discipline, or unduly constrained by professional rules') – have been especially prominent.[673] The districts of Värend in the south and Möre on the Baltic coast have received particular attention.[674] Möre, it should be stressed, was notably different from the rest of Småland. It was part of the Baltic seafaring economy from an early stage – in the late ninth century, Wulfstan, the merchant of uncertain origin whose account of his trading voyages in the Baltic was incorporated into the Old English Orosius, mentioned it – and with the foundation of Kalmar in around 1200 it became one of the most significant trading centres in Sweden, dominated by German merchants.[675] Also the churches in Möre present peculiarities not present in the

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[671] Ibid., p. 75: 'iniqui et perversi homines ... rapinas et direptiones'.

[672] For Danish examples, see McGuire, *Conflict and Continuity*, especially pp. 27–42, and *The Cistercians in Denmark*, especially pp. 108–11.

[673] Christiansen, *The Norsemen in the Viking Age*, p. 322. See for example Burström, *Arkeologisk samhällsavgränsning*; Vikstrand 'Kristnandet och sockenbildningen'; Tollin, 'Tidigmedeltida kolonisation'; id., *Rågångar, gränshallar och ägoområden*; Hansson, *Huvudgårdar och herravälden.*

[674] On medieval Värend, see Lars-Olof Larsson's weighty doctoral dissertation of 1964: *Det medeltida Värend.* Larsson is by some distance the most prominent modern historian to have discussed medieval Småland. The study of Möre in the eleventh- and twelfth centuries has benefitted greatly from a multi-disciplinary volume published within the auspices of the Christianisation of Sweden project: Williams, ed., *Möres kristnande.*

[675] *The Old English Orosius* I:1 (ed. Bately, p. 16); Larsson, *Småländsk medeltid*, pp. 98–109.

inland, but shared with a number of churches on the island of Öland. They are distinguished principally by thick-walled fortified towers, and often termed 'defense churches' (*försvarskyrkor*) in the literature. In fact, as shown by several scholars, they would have been of no use militarily, and although they are likely to have fulfilled some secular function, the term is inappropriate, and the traditional explanation behind them – that they were built in reaction to raids by Baltic pirates – inadequate. Many of the allegedly military features have been shown to be additions to twelfth-century church buildings from no earlier than the mid-thirteenth century.[676]

The earliest traces of Christian influence in Småland date to the eleventh century: changes in burial practice, and a number of Christian runic inscriptions.[677] There are a total of 190 runic inscriptions in the modern province (to be compared with, for example, the 182 surviving inscriptions on the neighbouring island of Öland). By any standards, they are terse and uninformative on spiritual and doctrinal matters.[678] Their existence could be taken to belie the province's reputation as a latecomer to Christianity, but the possibility of some sort of pagan-Christian coexistence must be acknowledged. Even in comparison with the rest of Sweden, remains of eleventh-century, 'runic' Christianity are few; and again it remains obscure quite how the earliest Christianity was lived and practiced.[679] Soon after 1100, however, traces of church buildings begin to appear.[680] They are, it should be noted, no more than that:

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[676] Boström, 'Ölands medeltida kyrktorn'; Andersson, 'Kalmarkustens kyrkor'; Marit Anglert, 'Kyrkorna i Möre'; Wienberg, 'Fortresses, Storehouses and Symbols'.

[677] Bodin, 'I brytningstiden mellan hedniskt och kristet'; Hansson, *Huvudgårdar och herravälden*, pp. 123–34; Ullén, 'Medeltidens kyrkor', pp. 41 and 45.

[678] Statistics from the Scandinavian Runic-Text Database: http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm (accessed 7 May 2010). For a printed edition and commentary on Småland's runic inscriptions, see Kinander, ed., *Smålands runinskrifter*.

[679] Ullén, 'Smålands kyrkor', p. 173.

[680] Fortunately, there is now a useful and up-to-date survey of Småland's parish churches, with much attention given to the middle ages, published in 2006 by the Swedish National Board of Antiquities' (*Riksantivarkieämbetet*): Ullén, ed., *Småland: Landskapets kyrkor*. For a catalogue, with

a handful of cases of reused timber (as floorboards or sills), seemingly originally intended for the vertical framework of stave churches, dated by dendrochronology to the early decades of the twelfth century. In general the proportion of wooden churches to stone churches was high in medieval Småland (by 1300, an estimated forty-six percent), but the province suffered a particularly intensive campaign of church-demolition and -replacement in the period 1760–1860, spearheaded by the famous Romantic poet and bishop of Växjö Esaias Tegnér (1786–1842) whose destructive zeal increased with his gradual descent into insanity. Nevertheless, out of the twelve medieval wooden churches still standing today in Sweden, six are in Småland (and a seventh was burnt down in 2000); none of them, however, can be dated to before 1200. The same appears to be true for the vast majority of the around ninety cross-timbered wooden churches which stood in Småland by the end of the middle ages but have not survived, and can be studied only in fragmentary form or from pictorial representations and literary descriptions.[681]

More medieval stone churches still stand, although in certain areas they also suffered heavily from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century replacement programme. The vast majority are Romanesque – if in many cases extensively gothicised (mostly in the fifteenth century), or with early modern additions – and it is generally agreed that by around 1300, Småland's medieval parochial network was complete. At that time, around 185 of approximately 287 parish churches in the province were stone churches. Their geographical distribution was uneven: first, some districts – notably Värend – had a particularly high proportion of wooden churches; second, they were preponderantly to be found in the central parts of the various small lands, and on the Möre coast. There is thus a clear connection between the earliest stone churches and areas with remains of pre-medieval settlements. They also appear in the same areas as rune stones, pre- or early Christian cemeteries, and remains of stave churches.

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bibliographies, of all churches in Finnveden, Njudung, and Värend, see Hansson, *Huvudgårdar och herrevälden*, pp. 337–59.

[681] Småland's wooden churches are comprehensively treated in Ullén, *Medeltida träkyrkor*. See also the more recent discussion in ead., 'Medeltidens kyrkor', pp. 43–51.

The borderlands, on the other hand, are largely characterised by wooden churches.[682]

Constructing an internal chronology of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches in Småland is difficult: the churches are generally simple in appearance, with little decoration, so there are few features on which to base stylistic attributions. In some cases wooden components have been dendrochronologically dated. Where such analysis is not possible, scholars have had to rely on basic stylistic features. There are some tendencies worth noting: a general trend seems to be that the earliest churches are also the churches with the most elaborate decoration, built with more complicated building techniques, and can therefore be associated with aristocratic, or even royal or episcopal initiatives. The risk for circular reasoning here is however obvious. In terms of the basic shape of the church, and in terms of features which could have had liturgical implications, there is a significant distinction to be made between churches with or without apsidal chancels. Again, the general trend seems to be that the earliest stone churches had apses, but there are some counterexamples.[683] Apsidal chancels are, however, essentially confined to the central lands where Christianity can first be attested.[684] Church towers have also received considerable scholarly attention, and are generally taken as manifestations of power by lay patrons or church owners. Some towers, especially those with galleries, are certainly remarkable, but it must be stressed that towers also are sacral in character: that is, they are integral to the church building as a distinctly non-secular, unworldly, entity.[685]

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[682] On Småland's Romanesque stone churches, see ibid., pp. 52–71; ead., 'Smålands kyrkor', pp. 177–83; Hansson, *Huvudgårdar och herravälden*, pp. 87–122.

[683] The presence or absence of an apse in the earliest Swedish local churches forms the basis for a recent dissertation: Runer, *Från hav till land*; the author has connected apsidal chancels with episcopal power; the evidence for this connection is very limited, however, consisting essentially of one case in Scania: see the review of ibid. by Tagesson.

[684] Hansson, *Huvudgårdar och herravälden*, pp. 96–102.

[685] On church towers, see ibid., 105–10; on the dangers of asssuming that towers are somehow a 'secular' part of the church, see Wienberg, 'Fortresses, Storehouses and Symbols'.

The most important trend in studies of medieval landownership and church-building in Swedish scholarship in the last decades is an increasing emphasis on marked social stratification going back to the pre-Christian period: that is, scholars have moved away from the traditional view of an archaic, Germanic, egalitarian peasant society, which built and owned its churches communally, being gradually replaced by a European hierarchical society dominated by a landed aristocracy. Recent studies have argued for a strong connection behind the twelfth- and thirteenth century stone churches and local 'manorial' power.[686] In many cases, episcopal and royal initiatives have also been highlighted. Sometimes, it must be admitted, these have relied on relatively ambiguous evidence, notably western towers, especially those with galleries. The extent of episcopal landownership in Småland is, however, not entirely obscure: bishop Gislo of Linköping donated land in Småland to Nydala abbey, and his successor Stenar had his properties in both Småland and Östergötland confirmed by a papal diploma.[687] They appear to have been relatively evenly distributed across the province.[688] The mid-twelfth-century church at Rydaholm is a notable example of a building with relatively strong associations to the Linköping bishop, standing very close to one of the more significant episcopal estates. The building technique was, in a Småland context, unusual and complicated – it was built from square, hewn granite blocks (ashlars).[689] It is also the only Romanesque Småland church to have been extensively decorated with figurative sculpture.[690]

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[686] The argument has recently and most powerfully been made for Småland by Martin Hansson, *Huvudgårdar och herravälden* and Clas Tollin, *Rågångar, gränshallar och ägoområden*. Cf. for example the traditional view in Smedberg, *Nordens första kyrkor*, pp. 162–94.

[687] *DS* I, 74; Schück, *Ecclesia Lincopensis*, pp. 280–7.

[688] With the obvious exception of Värend, which had its own bishop: see above p. 220–1.

[689] Lindhe, *Rydaholms medeltidskyrka*; Hansson, *Huvudgårdar och herravälden*, pp. 107–8; Ullén, 'Medeltidens kyrkor', pp. 58–9; the nave and chancel of the church were torn down in the in the late eighteenth century, but the large tower still stands, and at least some of the sculpture decorating the Romanesque church were reused in the new building.

[690] Ibid., pp. 76–7.

In general, scholarship on the medieval Swedish rural church and its place in the landscape has retained many traditional elements, which tend to exaggerate differences from the rest of Europe. Both historians and archaeologists have been reluctant to abandon an archaic scholarly terminology which may be detailed and specific, but is often untranslatable and legalistic. This makes any comparative assessment difficult. All-too-simple dichotomies – between individual and communal action, between the 'free' and the proprietary church, between 'Roman' and 'Germanic' – are often left unquestioned. 'Influences from the outside' – church reform and feudalism, notably – are often spoken of in simple, monolithic terms, and seldom considered as the scholarly constructs they usually are. Comparing the results of Swedish regional studies to more general works, with large-scale, international comparative ambitions can therefore have interesting result. For one thing, seen against the background of *inecclesiamento* of Europe described above, the building of local churches in twelfth-century Småland becomes part of a large-scale and widespread development, not just the tail-end of Christianisation. It also seems wise to heed Susan Reynolds's warning against a too simple dichotomy between elite and community initiatives in the creation of smaller units of ecclesiastical administration: 'evidence that a church was later regarded as the property of a lord is not evidence that his ancestors' tenants did not help to build it or regard it as also "theirs"'.[691] Similar doubts about the often neat and tidy categorisation of church builders, patrons, and owners have recently been voiced by Susan Wood, writing on the concept of the proprietary church. Wood's great and varied mass of examples of church ownership, and attitudes to church ownership, reveal 'a fluid set of attitudes and practices', and she has shown just how deceptive the language of legalism, whether medieval or modern, can be for describing historical reality.[692] Her contextualisation of the Scandinavian so-called community churches shows clearly that they, first of all, were not a residue of primitive

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[691] Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, p. 88.

[692] Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, p. 356; for an introduction to the importance of Wood's book, see the review article Nelson, 'Church Properties and the Propertied Church'.

Germanic law, but also that there were many precedents and parallels for similar collective initiatives or responsibilities across Europe.[693]

On more type of material evidence needs to be mentioned, and it is one which presents a number of interesting parallels with the breviary fragments: baptismal fonts.[694] Permanent baptismal fonts become widespread in most of northern Europe from around the middle of the twelfth century. They represent the dissemination of baptismal rights from higher churches to local churches – an important step on the development towards the parish church – and therefore, like the breviary, the *encellulement* of liturgical activity.[695] A recent estimate has concluded that around 154 have survived from medieval Småland. Dating them is difficult, but a first generation of forty-nine has been attributed to around 1150–1220 – that is, around the same time as the building of stone churches takes off in the province. They are in local sandstone, decorated with mythological animals, and confined entirely to the western and central parts of the province. Art historians have detected differences in quality, and constructed a rough internal chronology, which assumes that the fonts are all from the same workshop, first dominated by an imported master, then taken over by a small number of students.[696] The iconography of the early sandstone fonts is highly distinctive, but if it ever served any catechetical purpose remains mysterious. In Rydaholm, the church in Finnveden mentioned above, the font has an image of St Lawrence – the only identifiable saint on any of the Småland fonts.[697]

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[693] Wood, *The Proprietary Church.*, pp. 651–8.

[694] For a comprehensive account and catalogue of medieval baptismal fonts from Småland, complete and in fragmentary form, see Borg, *Smålands medeltida dopfuntar*. Borg's book has largely superseded the older Blomqvist, *Studier i Smålands romanska* stenkonst. See also Ullén, 'Medeltidens kyrkor', pp. 79–84 and Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia*, pp. 141–3.

[695] On the development of rites of baptism in the twelfth-century West, see Fisher, *Christian Initiation*, pp. 101–40, and Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, pp. 221–66. Both authors bemoan the 'diminishing' (Cramer) or 'disintegration' (Fisher) of baptismal rites in the post-Carolingian era.

[696] Borg, *Smålands medeltida dopfuntar* I, 77–98 and 163–96.

[697] Ibid., II, 100–1.

The font in Ör in Värend has an image of a bishop, book and crozier in his hands; the stylistically related Hemmesjö font from nearby depicts a priest carrying a processional cross. [698]

Like the breviary, the baptismal font was a marker of the independence of the local church, of its self-sufficiency as a discrete ritual microcosm; like the breviary fragments, the baptismal fonts can indicate diversity or uniformity of purpose among the earliest church builders. They can also reveal links with the outside world: one might think that, especially compared to manuscripts, baptismal fonts would have been downright unsuitable for long-distance export, and that – as seems to have been the case in central Småland – local production would have been the norm. In fact, in some ways the opposite is true. The mass production and export of stone fonts virtually exploded in northern Europe in the central decades of the twelfth century, and hundreds of fonts were disseminated to large areas from a small number of quarries and workshops in the Meuse valley, from Tournai, and from Bentheim in Lower Saxony.[699] Also in Sweden, on the island of Gotland, large numbers of baptismal fonts in limestone were produced and exported to the mainland, to Denmark, and to Germany from around 1165.[700] Gotlandic fonts dominate in Småland's coastland, although most of them have been dated to the thirteenth century.[701] Transporting them inland might have been difficult, which could explain the predominance of locally produced fonts in Njudung and Värend. Remarkably, only one medieval font in Småland can be connected – stylistically and by the material – to a Danish (Scanian) workshop.[702]

Only in exceptional cases can the Swedish liturgical fragments be associated with a particular church or religious house. In the case of the Småland breviary fragments,

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[698] Ibid. II, 244–5 and 182–3.

[699] Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia*, pp. 39–59 and 71–86.

[700] Ibid., pp. 131–45; Reutersvärd, *The Fountain of Paradise*.

[701] Borg, *Smålands medeltida dopfuntar* I, 96–7 and 192.

[702] That of Ryssby in Finnveden: ibid. II, 214–15.

the exact medieval provenance remains unknown in all cases. The lowest level of geographical detail attainable – which hundred the accounts bound by the fragments concern – seems to indicate a relatively even distribution across the whole province; there are slightly more accounts from the eastern coastland than from inland districts, but these areas were the most populous in the province.[703] What is striking, however, is the approximate congruity in date and numbers between breviary fragments and new local churches. Most of the breviaries can be dated to the central or later decades of the twelfth century, around the same time as the earliest generation of attested Romanesque stone churches in medieval Småland.[704] How many churches were built in this period is difficult to tell: scholarly literature has usually been satisfied to divide the medieval churches in Småland into a pre-1350 and a post-1350 group, and the internal chronology of the former remains obscure. Given how many of the churches no longer stand, and how imprecise dating on stylistic grounds can be, this uncertainty is quite understandable – a detailed reassessment of the dates and distribution of Småland's local churches has not been possible within the context of this thesis, but it seems unlikely that the results of such an investigation would be in any way precise. Nonetheless, assuming that out of 280 or so parish churches which stood in Småland by about 1300, a reasonably large proportion were built in the thirteenth century, as the population continued to increase and colonisation of the borderlands intensified, the number of twelfth-century churches would at least not be massively discrepant from the numbers of breviaries surviving in fragment – they can be counted in scores rather than hundreds. It thus seems a reasonable conclusion that the breviaries were either imported or produced in connection with the building of churches. Preliminary observations suggest that this pattern continues among the thirteenth-century breviary fragments, as the building of churches in Småland continued at an even faster pace.

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[703] See the archival information (under 'Info.') in the table below, pp. 243–8. Please note that in a couple of cases, where the breviary fragments have been removed from the accounts they once covered, and no legible archival signature survives, this information is not available.

[704] On date and script, see below, pp. 248–53.

The accounts covered by the fragments in the Småland breviary group date from between 1542 and 1609, with the vast majority from the 1550s to the 1570s: the generation after the so-called Dacke War (1542–3), the most dramatic period in Småland's history. Nils Dacke, a poor farmer, charismatic and ruthless, formed a large guerilla army in rebellion against the royal representatives in Småland and Öland. The rebels' protests centred on taxation: King Gustav I's reforms of the state and increased political centralisation had resulted in a heavy burden on the peasantry. Dacke and his followers systematically killed royal bailiffs and other officials. Modern historians have stressed that religious change was a secondary concern to the rebels, but they did make a point of demanding a return to Roman Catholicism and the Latin liturgy – 'soon a child will be able to whistle mass from a dung-cart', they complained to the king. [705] In 1541 the royal government had confiscated the silver and vestments of Småland's parish churches, and such actions had led to popular resentment in earlier years, notably the so-called 'bell rebellion' (*Klockupproret*) in 1531, when the peasants of Dalarna in central Sweden protested against the systematic confiscation of bells from their parish churches.[706] Nils Dacke signed himself with a picture of a ringing bell. Sources dominated by insistent royal propaganda make the realities of Dacke's eventual defeat, and the subsequent punishment of the Smålanders, difficult to retrieve in detail.[707] It is however clear that, even if some accounts may well have exaggerated the sufferings Småland underwent after the Dacke War, and even if the Gustav I did not leave the province crippled, the king made certain to forcibly reassert his presence in the following years: the number of bailiffs increased, and their authority was expanded.[708] In this context, one can easily see how a comprehensive and coordinated confiscation of Latin liturgical books from rural parish churches would have been possible.

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[705] Larsson, *Gustav Vasa*, pp. 232–68 (quotation from p. 255: 'ett barn kunde snart från en dyngevagn vissla en mässa fram').

[706] Ibid., pp. 188–97.

[707] Ibid., pp. 246 and 263–8.

[708] Hallenberg, *Kungen, fogdarna och riket*, in particular pp. 183–8.

To summarise: two principal conclusions can be drawn from the discussion above. The first is that the breviary fragments can likely be connected with the building of the local churches which would form the basis for the parish network in Småland as it developed over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the number of attested books is at least similar – which is as much as one can hope for – to the number of contemporaneous churches. Second, the breviary fragments indicate that these churches were intended, by whoever provided them with books, to be, as it were, liturgically self-sufficient: the breviary provided each church with the necessary textual basis for full, sung celebration of the daily liturgical hours. For this purpose, the most up-to-date liturgical book was practically a necessity. Whether this implies that the breviaries are the remains of a large-scale unified initiative requires a closer look, however, and a comparison between the fragments to assess quite how uniform or, alternatively, diverse the group is. If diverse, do the fragments represent uncoordinated local initiatives, and small-scale importation of liturgical books? If uniform, can the contours of far-reaching royal or episcopal initiatives be perceived? Or were there many small-scale initiatives which shared the same ideals and preoccupations? I will return to these questions in the second subchapter.

To conclude this section, I will turn to another type of evidence, as prominent in Swedish medievalist historiography as it is problematic: the *landskapslagar*, the medieval provincial law codes. The laws – there are some ten different law codes, related through complicated textual and customary links – are variously dated. The oldest manuscripts date to the central decades of the thirteenth-century, but the vast majority date to the fourteenth century – in fact, from around the time the provincial law codes were replaced by King Magnus Eriksson's Swedish law code (around 1350). The law codes were divided into sections, and most contained an ecclesiastical section, which gave prescriptions for the church's dealing with the laity.[709] The provincial law codes present a picture of Scandinavian life and society

[709] See Iuul and Liedgren, 'Landskabslove' for an introduction; the Swedish laws were edited in one of the principal editorial projects of high national romanticism in 1827–77: Collin and Schlyter, ed.,

so straightforward and coherent (within each of the three kingdoms) that scholars speak of a 'society of the provincial law codes'; or – in older scholarship – of 'provincial society' (*landskapssamhälle*). Within the Swedish 'society of the provincial law codes' the church occupies a fairly clear position. It is at the centre of a parish, the *socken*, built and maintained by the local free peasants, *bönder*, acting as a community. The church is staffed by a priest, and by his assistant, the *klockare* – literally, a 'bell-ringer', in some cases seemingly equivalent to a deacon, even it is highly uncertain how often the *klockare* was ordained.[710] There are two problems with this picture: first, the provincial law codes are, of course, normative rather than descriptive texts. As historical scholarship has, to a great extent, turned away from legalistic frameworks and preoccupations, it has become increasingly clear that the provincial law codes represent not what society looked like, but rather what specific interests thought it *should* look like.[711] The picture of collective peasant agency, of the parish with its priest and its bell-ringer and its wooden church, is artificial and selective – it leaves little room for royal, episcopal, or aristocratic patronage, or the involvement of monastic institutions. The bishop often appears only as a distant figure.[712] Throughout, the perspective is essentially lay and essentially local.

The otherness of the provincial law codes has been especially suggestive to proponents of Scandinavian particularism: they can seem harsh, brutal, with a tone that ranges from the clumsily poetic to the crudely jocular – the cruel jester's law in

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Corpus iuris. The standard editions for Norway and Denmark are, respectively Keyser et al., ed., *Norges gamle love* and Brøndum-Nielsen et al., ed., *Danmarks gamle landskabslove*. For more recent editions of particular law codes, see the bibliographies in Fenger et al., 'Laws'. Eithun, Rindal and Ulset, ed., *Den eldre Gulatingslova*; Halvorsen and Rindal, ed., *De eldste østlandske kristenrettene* are two further recent examples.

[710] Bringéus et al,, 'Klockare'; Sandholm, *Klockarämbetet*.

[711] For a survey of recent developments in the study of Scandinavian medieval law, see Tamm, 'How Nordic are the Old Nordic Laws?'.

[712] On the bishop and the provincial laws, see Hellström, *Biskop och landskapssamhälle*, in particular pp. 143–55.

the oldest surviving Swedish law code is a famous example of rough humour.[713] Recent scholarship has however increasingly turned away from the traditional view of the law codes as remnants of ancient, 'Germanic' society, and pointed instead towards links with Roman law, and Latin canon law.[714] Increasingly, as well, the Scandinavian law codes have come to be seen as primarily textual, rather than oral phenomena. Some scholars have affirmed, categorically, that the law codes contain no traces whatsoever of pre-literate, pre-Christian social norms.[715] Some of the unsophisticated impression they give can instead be a simple question of language: a comparison between the vernacular Law of Scania and Archbishop Anders Sunesen of Lund's Latin translation is instructive here.[716]

With the sections of the provincial law codes of relevance here – the ecclesiastical laws – there was of course never any question of over-enthusiastic antiquarians reconstructing residues of pagan *Germanentum*, and their debt to Latin canon law has long been acknowledged.[717] Still, quite how the jurisdictions of vernacular ecclesiastical law and Latin canon law interacted in medieval Scandinavia often remains highly unclear, as does actual legal practice. Scholarly opinion also varies: at one extreme the ecclesiastical law codes (Norwegian, in this case) are 'the most detailed and reliable evidence' available for 'a Germanic "national" church' in the twelfth century, at the other they are simply 'a codification of canon law within the

The jester's law describes a complicated and humiliating ordeal the jester has to go through when he is the accuser in a case - not the defendant.

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[713] In the Older Law of Västergötland: Collin and Schlyter, ed. *Corpus iuris* I, 67.

[714] See the various contributions in Tamm and Vogt, ed., *How Nordic are the Nordic Medieval Laws?*.

[715] Notably Elsa Sjöholm in 1988: *Sveriges medeltidslagar*; see also ead., *Quelle mittelalterlicher Geschichte des Nordens* and 'Sweden's Medieval Laws'; Sjöholm strongly denounced practically all her predecessors in the field, and the reception of her book was unsurprisingly critical: see for example the reviews of *Sveriges medeltidslagar* by Bagge and Fenger; see also Brink, 'Law and Legal Customs in Viking Age Scandinavia', pp. 117–27, the best recent case in favour of pre-Christian remnants in the Scandinavian law codes.

[716] Collin and Schlyter, ed., *Corpus iuris* IX, 1–238 (in Danish) and 239–354 (in Latin); see also Holmbäck and Wessén, transl. *Svenska landskapslagar* IV, xix–xxxi

[717] For two Swedish examples from 1905 and 1953 respectively, see Bååth, *Bidrag till den kanoniska rättens historia i Sverige* and Nylander, *Das kirchliche Benefizialwesen Schwedens*.

framework of the provincial law codes'.[718] While there clearly are a number of instances where Latin canon law, notably twelfth-century papal decretals, have made their way into vernacular law codes, there are also instances where the law codes are in direct contradiction with classical canon law: the Swedish law codes, for example, make full provision for married priests, and in one case bishops.[719] It is clear, then, that any assessment of the ecclesiastical law codes must take into account the possibility that they in some instances reflect *both* external influence *and* Scandinavian initiatives, and that, rather than seeing them as a kind of compromise version of canon law, watered-down and vernacularised to reflect rural practice, one should think of them as representing only part of the church, and specific interests within the church at that.[720]

As mentioned above, all of Småland did not form a judicial province; the three central lands which made up Tiohärad did, however. The Tiohärad law code has not survived complete, but there are two manuscript witnesses preserving the ecclesiastical section. Both manuscripts are from the fourteenth century, but some elements of the text are clearly older.[721] The law code proceeds in comfortable present-tense narrative, and the account of the building of a church seems a

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[718] Quotations from Helle, 'The Organisation', pp. 47–8 and Strandberg, 'Kyrkobalkar', col. 682.

[719] On the influence of Latin canon law, see Korpola, 'On Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and the Reception of Canon Law' and importantly Landau, 'The Importance of Classical Canon Law in Scandinavia'. On differences between Latin canon law and the ecclesiastical law codes, see Strandberg, 'Kyrkobalkar'.

[720] As nicely illustrated with Icelandic examples by Orri Vésteinsson: *The Christianization of Iceland*, pp. 179–237. Orri has argued that the legal sources reflect the interests of bishops and old-fashioned chieftain priests, who attempted to control the so-called district priests – servants, but skilled and able to choose their own employers – by emphasising, and perhaps exaggerating, the servile status of the non-aristocratic priest. In this context, the value of the Christian law code can lie 'to a large extent in what it does *not* contain' (ibid., p. 108).

[721] Hafström, 'Smålandslagen'; see also the introduction in Holmbäck and Wessén, transl. *Svenska landskapslagar* V, lxxv-xci. The Swedish law of King Magnus Eriksson, which applied to the whole kingdom, contained no ecclesiastical section, and in the manuscripts the ecclesiastical laws from the old provincial code are often included.

deceptively neat vignette from parish life. 'Now the peasants wish to build a church', it begins. All landowning peasants of the parish are to contribute, and 'neither king nor nobleman should have any part therein'.[722] The church is built in wood, and in addition the peasants construct four auxiliary buildings. When the church is finished, the peasants procure the necessary books and vestments, as described in the following passage. Please note that I translate the feminine pronoun *hon* used for the church as 'she' rather than 'it', to preserve the quite un-bureaucratic tone of the text, and the poetic simile of the church awaiting its priestly suitor. The double meaning of *skruth*, 'vestments', which also translates as 'garb' or 'dress', is worth pointing out.

> Then vestments shall be bought for the church. There shall be a chalice and a corporal; a chasuble; there shall be a book for mass and a book for matins; a psalter and a chant book; a mass tunic, a stole, an amice and a maniple. The church must not lack candles. She shall have three candles: two altar candles and a paschal candle. The church shall also have a bell, for she shall call both him who enters this world and him who leaves it. Then the church stands, closed and locked; awaiting suitors like a farmer's daughter.[723]

The 'suitor' – that is, the priest – then arrives, and 'asks' for the church. The parishioners take him to the bishop, where his knowledge is tested, and his ordination certified – the priest must, states the law code, be 'no murderer or manslayer, no thief of church property, no runaway from a monastery, no gambler or

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[722] *Smålandslagen* II–III (ed. Collin and Schlyter, *Corpus iuris* VI, 97–8): 'Nw uiliæ bönder krkiu byggia. ... aghe thær j huarkin karl eller konunger'.

[723] *Smålandslagen* III:2 (ibid., p. 98): 'Tha scal skruth til kirkiu köpa. thet scal wara calker oc corporale. mæssu hakull. thet scal wara mæssu book och mættenæ book. saltære oc sangbook. mæssu særker. stooll. huwthliin. oc handliin., Ey maa kirkiæ liwslöös wara. höön scal hafwa thry liws. tw altæra liws oc eet font liws., Oc scal kirkiæ klokko hafwa. firi. thy. hon scal bathe kallæ then j stwndæ væruldenæ. oc swa aaff., Tha staar kirkiæ lukt oc læst. wænte sææ bithlæ. som dotte bondæns'.

drunk, no frequenter of whores or loose women'.[724] He is responsible for the church and church property, and if vestments or buildings are damaged or lost should pay the parish peasants according to their worth (one mark was equivalent to eight *öre*):

> twelve *öre* for the chalice and the corporal; twelve *öre* for the chasuble; for the book for mass and the book for matins twelve *öre* each; for the psalter and the chant book six *öre* each; for the stole three *öre*; for the mass tunic and the manual [*hand booc*] half a mark each; for the amice and the maniple one *öre* each; for the altar candles one *öre* each; for the paschal candle one *öre*. In addition, the bell has its worth: its worth is twelve *öre*. Now the church can burn, with everything, through fault of the priest or the bell-ringer; then the priest shall pay three marks or swear by oath that he did not cause it.[725]

After the priest a man arrives and asks for its bells – a prospective *klockare*. The priest and the parishioners test him together, but the priest has the final say in the matter. The bell-ringer should ring for 'matins, for vespers, for compline, and when a corpse arrives in church'.[726] The law-code then goes into some detail about what should happen if the bell should fall and kill someone. Finally, after the prescriptions for tithes and other payments, the liturgical duties of the priest are listed:

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[724] *Smålandslagen* IV (ibid., p. 99): 'Ey ... moorthare eller mandræpare. ey kirkiu brytære eller kloster löparæ. ey doblare eller drinkare. ey puto mather eller portkunw'.

[725] *Smålandslagen* IV:1 (ibid., pp. 99–100): 'giælde huart ater. æfte wirning sinne. calker oc corporale aat örum tolff. mæssu hakwll aat örum tolff. mæssu booc oc mættenæ booc huarin vm tolff öra. saltære oc sangbooc huarin vm siæx öra. stool at thrim örum. mæssu særker och hand booc. uari vm half mark.. huwth lijn oc hand lijn. huart aat öre. altæra lyus huart vm halfuæn öre. font lyus aat öre. Oc scal klokka wirthning sinæ hafua. wirthning hænnæ ær aat tolff örum. Nw kan kirkiæ meth allum up brinnæ. aaf præste eller klockara. böte præster threæ marker oc dyli rathæ sinnæ.,'

[726] *Smålandslagen* V (ibid., pp. 100–101): 'han a ringia lagha rigning til ottosaang. mæssu. aftænsaang. oc til natsaang oc geen like.,'

Now the priest has received his share of the tithe, and additional payments. He shall then attend to his hours and sacral duties, and know what he owes the farmer. He shall sing mass in concord with his parish, and provide for the bell-ringer according to the law. The priest shall sing matins, then prime, then mass, then terce, then sext, then none, then vespers, then compline. He is obliged to pray both for the living and the dead.[727]

Passages like this are commonplace in canon law, and often from sources far removed in time and place from where they were to be implemented.[728] The list of books and vestments necessary for the church is in some ways more difficult to assess. It has no parallel in the other Swedish provincial law codes.[729] *Mættenæ book*, literally 'a book for matins', in all likelihood refers to a full breviary (as noted above in relation to Otloh of St Emmeram). The 'book for mass' must be the missal. The pairing of the psalter and the 'book of chants' implies that the latter is the

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[727] *Smålandslagen* VIII (ibid., p. 103): 'Nw hafuer præster tiundæ. och tillæghu fangit., nw scal præster uactæ tithæ sinnæ. oc wixla sinna oc sita huat han ær bondanom skyldugher. han scal siungæ meth sæmiu firi sokn sinne oc klokcare laghleka tillwara., Præster a siungæ ottosang. swa prim. swa mæssu. swa tærz. swa sæxt swa noon. swa aftænsang. swa natsang., Skundugher ær han bithia. bathe firi quikum oc döthum'.

[728] See Molien, 'Bréviaire', cols 1082–90.

[729] The text of the influential law of Uppland is clearly related, but does not specify which service books (*tiþæ bökær*) the parishioners should procure: *Upplandslagen* III (Collin and Schlyter, ed., *Corpus iuris* III, 18): 'Nu skal kirkiæ skruþ hawæ. Þet æru mæssu klæþi. ok altæræklæþi. kalk oc korporale. ok allær tiþæ bökær. engin præstær. ma ok bökær köpæ. ellær skriwa latæ. utæn sins biskups orloff. ok sokninnæ goþwiliæ. utæn han wili þem giældæ a siælffs sins kost. Nu skal kirkiæ klokkur hawaæ fore þy at hun skal sokn til tiþæ kallæ. Nu kan nokot .i. kirkiu skruþ bristæ. Þa skal biskupær mæþ soknæmannum raþ a leggiæ. ok bætræ til þæt fat ær mæþ kirkiu tiund. Þa standæar kirkiu lyctæþ. ok læst. ok wælboin.': 'Now the church shall have vestments. They are: a mass cloth, an altar cloth, a chalice and a corporal, and all service books. No priest may buy books or have books written without the permission of his bishop and the agreement of the parish, unless pays for them at his own expense. Now the church shall have bells, so that she can call the parish to services. Now something among the vestments could break; then, the bishop shall take counsel with the men of the parish, and repair what has been broken with the church tithe. Then the church stands closed and locked, and well protected':

antiphonary (rather than the gradual, which collects the chants for the mass liturgy), and therefore – as these are the books used by the choir in the office liturgy – that provisions should be made for choral performance of the liturgical hours. To what extent this was realistic remains uncertain: similar lists of required books can be found elsewhere, often promulgated by bishops aspiring to the canonical ideal of liturgical uniformity within the diocese.[730] It is worth noting, too, that when the list of books and vestments is repeated in the section detailing their value, another type of book is added: the manual, the book containing the pastoral rites. Its absence in the first list suggests that that preserves an edict where pastoral – and parochial – concerns took second place to choral concerns.

The list of unsuitable priests is another pertinent example: one might think that these were exactly the kind of specifications which were only necessary in a rougher, primitive Christian world. The list is fully alliterative – often taken as a sign of oral transmission. In fact, the passage is, practically, a translated excerpt from a papal decretal from one of the most well-known canonists of the twelfth century, Alexander III.[731] The decretal, addressed to the Swedish episcopate, gives a very sombre picture of the Swedish church: of a clergy filled with simoniacs and irregulars; of a laity, especially the *potentiores de parrochia*, appointing priests and judging them by secular law – by ordeal or by duel, instead of the appropriate Roman and canonical law. The decretal probably reflects some of the concerns of the Swedish bishops, who had not yet built up the mechanisms necessary for controlling and protecting their clerical inferiors, and needed papal support. But as a

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[730] For similar lists, see for example thirteenth-century English synodal statutes: Cheney and Powicke, *Councils and Synods*, pp. 296, 379, 599, 1005–6 and 1387. Two out of five equivalent lists here contain a breviary. All are very different from and considerably fuller than the Tiohärad list, prescribing books for a more elaborate rite, including tropers in four cases, and other chant books in addition to the breviary and/or missal. There is also remarkable variation between the English lists themselves. See also Brett, Brooke and Whitelock, *Council and Synods*, pp. 206–7 and 291–2 for earlier examples of such lists (993×995 and c. 1006 respectively, both by Ælfric), prior to the invention of the breviary.

[731] As noted by Hafström, 'Smålandslagen', col. 311.

guide to the realities of twelfth-century Sweden Alexander's decretal is treacherous: it is permeated with *topoi* of barbarity and residual paganism at the *fines orbis terrae*.[732] How much it can actually say about how priests were appointed and treated in twelfth-century Småland is debatable. Its appearance in the Tiohärad church law is, however, evidence both that the law code contains elements from the twelfth century, the time when the rural church in Småland had begun its phase of rapid expansion, and that its concerns were not as far removed from the universal intellectualism of Latin canon law as one might think. Again, the rusticity of the language is deceptive.

5:2. The Fragments

5:2:1. Overview and Survival

The following fragments in Riksarkivet in Stockholm fulfill the criteria listed in the introduction above. The information about content is from the MPO catalogue; my additions or translations are in italics. For an explanation of the different cataloguing systems, see above in chapter two.[733]

MPO Sign	*MPO Cod.*	*CCM Sign. (Br)*	*Archives*	*Year*	*No.*	*Content (MPO)*
5398		166	Smålands handlingar	1556	9B:3	1r-2v Proprium de temp.: 1rv Trinitas; Fer IIII p. trin.; 2rv Dom III p. pent.; >infra ebdomadam<
5495		1598/1626	Smålands handlingar	1558	21:2	1r-2v Proprium de temp.: 1rv Dom. III. p. pascha; 2rv Dom. V p. pascha - In diebus rogationum
5789	1542		Smålands handlingar	1566	16:4	1r-2v Proprium de temp.: 1rv Dom. infra oct. epiph.; 2rv Hebd. p. epiph. [2]: I Cor 1,26-2,7 -

[732] *DS* I, no. 54.

[733] P. 57.

						Dom. III. p. epiph. ev Mt 8,23 [Ascendente Ihesu in navicu]lam
6413	878		Smålands handlingar	1599	10:1	1r-2v Proprium de temp.: 1rv Dom. III in XL - Fer. II in XL [3]; 2rv Sabb. in XL [4] - Dom. in passione
6414	878		Smålands handlingar	1599	10:2	1r-2v Proprium de temp.: 1rv Fer. VI p. palmas [parasceve]; 2rv Sabb. sancto - Dom. paschae
6724	944		Smålands handlingar	1605	1:3	1r-2v Proprium de temp.: 1rv Dom. in LX - Fer V in LX; 2rv Fer. IIII cinerum - Sabb. in L.
6786			Smålands handlingar	1606	1:3	1r-2v Proprium de temp.: 1rv Dom II in XL - Fer. II in XL [2]; 2rv Sabb. in XL [3] - Dom. IIII in XL.
6881			Smålands handlingar	1608	11:2	1r-2v Proprium de temp. et de SS: 1rv Dom in L; 2rv Gregorii; Benedicti; Mariae annuntiatio
6909	944		Smålands handlingar	1609	2:3	1r-2v Proprium de SS: Iohannis bapt. hy (nur Incipit ohne Notation) AH 50, Nr. 96; Iohannis et Pauli; Petri
22015		166	A 103	1556	d 148	Dom. I p. pent.
22897		708	Smålands handlingar	1573	14:2	Dom. III p. trin.; - Dom. VI p. trin.?
22898		708	Smålands handlingar	1575	5:4	Fabiani et Sebastiani; Agnetis; hy: Iesu corona virginum
22899		708	Smålands handlingar	1575	5:3	Dom. I Nov.; - Dom. XXIIII p. trin., hy: Ecce iam noctis; hebd. p. dom. XXIIII p. trin.
22900		708	Smålands handlingar	1575	5:2	Silvestri; Hy: Iste confessor domini sacratus; Hilarii (Ylarii); Pauli erem.; Maurici (Mauri);

						Fabiani et Sebastiani; - Agnetis
22902		708	Smålands handlingar	1576	2:2	Vincentii; Pauli conversio; - Pauli conversio
23588		1211	Smålands handlingar	1551	10:2	Dom. I adv.; Fer. II adv [1] - Fer. IIII adv. [1]; - Dom. II adv.; Fer II adv. [2]; Fer. IIII adv- [2]
23589		1212	Smålands handlingar	1577	14:3	Fer. IIII p. dom. ultim. Aug. - Dom. I Sept.; - Dom. XI p. trin.; Fer. II p. dom. XI p. trin.; Fer. III p. dom. XI p. trin.
23590		1213	Smålands handlingar	1578	13:3	Hebd. p. dom. ---Aug?; (textus: Eccl 3,14-5,10); Dom. I Sept.
23591		1214	Smålands handlingar	1579	5:3	Sabb. p. pent.; Dom. in oct. pent.; hy: Veni creator; Trinitas; - Fer. II. p. dom. I p. oct. Corpus Christi?; Fer. III - Fer. V. (Text: I Sm. 2,12 etc.)
23593		1216	Smålands handlingar	1578	1:2	Dom. XVI p. trin. - Dom. XVII p. trin. *Cf. – despite the different number of versicles* -- Br 1214, 1215, 1217
23594		1217	Smålands handlingar	1579	2:3	Fer. V in cena dni; Fer. VI p. palmas [Parasceve]; Fer. VI p. palmas. *Cf* Br 1214, 1215, 1216
23597		1220	Smålands handlingar	1565	4:4	Fer. III p. oct. epiph.; Fer. IIII p. oct. epiph.; - Dom. in LX; Fer. II in LX; Fer. III in LX
23598		1221	Smålands handlingar	1571	7:3	Ascensio; hy: Festum nunc; - Fer. VI p. ascens.; Sabb. p. ascens.
23599		1222	Smålands handlingar	1571	7:1	Fer. II adv [1] - Fer. V adv. [1]; Fer. IIII adv. [4]; Fer. V adv. [4]; Nativitas dni vig.
23600		1223	Smålands handlingar	1571	18:1	Fer. V adv. [2] - Dom. III adv.; - Dom. IIII adv.; hy: Conditor; Fer. II adv. [4]; Fer. III adv. [4]

23610		1233	Smålands handlingar	1542	3:4	Dom. I adv. - Dom. II adv.; Fer. VI adv. [3] - Fer. VII (=Sabb.) adv. [3]
23618		1240	Smålands handlingar	1565	20:1	Dom. I adv.
23619		1241	Smålands handlingar	1577	18:3	Pauli commemoratio
23620		1241	Smålands handlingar	1577	18:4	Pauli commemoratio; hy: Doctor egregie; Petri et Pauli oct.
23621		1242	Smålands handlingar	1585	4:2	Dom. in LXX
23650		1263	Smålands handlingar	1553	8:2	Fer. III p. dom. I Nov. - Sabb. p. dom. I Nov.; - Sabb. ante dom. XXIII p. trin.; Dom. XXIII p. trin.; . Sabb. ante dom. XXII p. pent. = Dom XXII p. trin.; Dom. XXII p. pent. (=Dom XXII p. trin.)
23664		1274	Smålands handlingar	1563	32:1	Dom. I adv. - Fer. V adv. [1]; Dom. II adv.; hy: Vox clara ecce; hy: Conditor alme; Fer.II adv. [2] - Fer. V adv. [2]
23666		1276	Smålands handlingar	1565	19:3	*Florentii* ep. et mart.: Matthaei ap.; -Mauritii
23667		1276	Smålands handlingar	1565	8:2	Valentini; Martini
23668		1276	Smålands handlingar	1564	7:1	Mauritii; Cosmae et Damiani; Venceslai (Wenzlai mart.); - Remigii, Germani et Vedasti, Duorum Ewaldorum
23669		1276	Proviantträkenskaper	1565	2:5	Petri et Pauli; Pauli commemoratio
23690		1295/1322	Smålands handlingar	1574	3:3	Dom. I p. oct. epiph.; Fer. II p. dom. I p. oct. epiph.; Fer. III p.

						dom. I p. oct. epiph.
23691		1296	Smålands handlingar	1566	23	Fer. II p. palmas; Fer. III. p. palmas; - Fer. VI p. palmas [Parasceve]
23692		1297	Smålands handlingar	1558	20:4	Hebd. p. dom. IX p. trin.; Dom. X p. trin.; - Dom. XI p. trin.; Hebd. p. dom. XI p. trin.
23693		1298	Smålands handlingar	1561	23:5	Lucae; Simonis et Iudae; hy: Exultet; Omnium sanctorum; Caesarii
23694		1299	Smålands handlingar	1557	5:3	Epiphania; hy: Hostis herodes impie (*notated*); - Epiphania; Dom. infra oct. epiph.
23695		1300	Smålands handlingar	1581	3:1	Fer. V in cena dni
23704		1308	Smålands handlingar	1561	2:3	Dom. I Sept. (Iob 1,1ff); - Dom. XV p. trin.; Fer. II p. dom. XV p. trin; Fer. III p. dom. XV p. trin.
23705		1309	Smålands handlingar	1553	7:3	Epiphania; Dom. infra oct. epiph.; In oct. epiph.
23708		1311	Smålands handlingar	1589	21:1	Stephani protomart.; Iohannis ev.
23711		1314	Smålands handlingar	1554	18:4	Hebd. p. dom. I p. oct. epiph.; Dom. II p. oct. epiph.; - Dom. II p. oct. epiph.
23713		1316	Smålands handlingar	1557	20:3	Dom. I Aug.; Infra hebd.; Infra hebd. p. dom. XI p. trin.; Dom. XII p. trin.
23722		1295/1322	Smålands handlingar	1575	6B:3	Dom. I p. oct. epiph.; - Fer. III p. dom. I p. oct. epiph.; Fer. IIII p. dom. I p. oct pascha
24094		1598/1626	Smålands handlingar	1558	21:3	Dom. III p. pascha; - Infra hebd. p. dom. III p. pascha; - Infra hebd. p. dom. IIII p. pascha; Dom V p. pascha

24095		1598/1626	Smålands handlingar	1558	21:4	Hebd. p. pascha [2]; - Dom. IIII p. pascha; Hebd. p. pascha [3]
24136		1660	Smålands handlingar	1557	15:6	Dom. IIII adv.; - Sabb. IIII adv.

As is immediately evident from this list, there are few breviaries where more than a couple of fragments have survived – in fact, in the vast majority of cases only one fragment has survived from any particular book. This is common in the Stockholm fragment collection, and the reasons remain mysterious. In eight cases the fragments have been removed from the accounts they once covered. Three of these survive as single leaves only. All other fragments are bifolia, wrapped around the account books as covers, with the two exceptions of SRA Fr. 23618 and 23711, where broad strips of some 330×75mm and 350×80mm respectively have been used to strengthen the spine-fold of the account book; larger bifolia (in both cases from later books) have then, in turn, been used to cover the rather thick volumes. Many of the fragments are damaged: by wear, by fire, or by damp. Several leaves have been mutilated; all have early modern rubrics and collation numbers written across the medieval writing, which has often been washed or scraped off, or covered in grey paint, to prepare for the rubrics.

5:2:2. Format, Handwriting, and Musical Notation

In terms of format, the group is relatively homogenous. With the exception of the single, mutilated leaf SRA Fr. 23650, all fragments are from books written in two columns: overall, one-column breviaries seem very rare among the twelfth-century fragments in Stockholm. One-column missals are also very rare among the 'German' twelfth-century fragments. Among the Småland breviary fragments, the colour of the ink for the main text varies from light brown to black. Initials are simple, in red

pigment only (the same red as the rubrics), with six exceptions.[734] The size of the medieval books is not entirely straightforward to assess: most account books measured around 340×230mm, and where the breviaries used to bind them were too large, the pages were either mutilated or folded. This said, most fragments seem to have come from books measuring 340–70×220–50mm. They are thus mostly not from portable books in any traditional sense of the word, but hardly of 'imposing dimensions' either, confirming the argument above that Leroquais's twofold division of breviaries does not apply before 1200.[735] Some fragments, however, clearly are from larger books: the height of CCM Br. 1598/1626 (SRA Fr. 5495 and 24094–5), where the edges of the pages have been folded rather than cut, would have been around 450mm; the height of the breviary which yielded SRA Fr. 22898 would have been around 410mm (in both cases, the original width of the page cannot be ascertained). In a couple of cases, if not in the Småland archives, single leaves, not bifolia, of 'German' twelfth-century breviary fragments have been used to cover the volumes, folded in half. These books would have been considerably larger: in one of them the pages measured around 490×305mm.[736] Interestingly, the Stockholm collection appears to show less diversity in format than the Copenhagen collection, which includes several early one-column breviaries, some of them in large, high-grade script, in widely spaced lines, seemingly a generation older than the most of the Småland fragments.[737] The ruling of the pages is again difficult to assess because of the fragmentary condition of the material, but where it is visible, it is generally in hard-point, with a couple of exceptions ruled in lead.[738]

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[734] SRA Fr. 5495 etc. (red and green); Fr. 6413 etc. (red, dark red/purple, and green); CCM Br 708: SRA Fr. 22898, 22900, and 22902 (red, green, and brown/yellow); SRA Fr. 23644 (red and blue); Fr. 23666 etc. (red, green, and blue); Fr. 23705 (red and green).

[735] See above, p. ?.

[736] SRA Fr. 854–5 (CCM Cod. 127).

[737] That is, s. xi ex.–s. xii$^{1/3}$: see for example, DKB, Fr. 2081–2 and 2841–2; the pages of the latter would have been around 500mm wide (the height cannot be ascertained)!

[738] Including CCM Br. 1276 (SRA Fr. 23666–9), whose remarkable sanctoral will be discussed below.

The script in the Småland fragments is what is, rather unhelpfully, usually called *Praegothica*: the 'transitional' phase which Latin handwriting in Western Europe underwent in the course of the twelfth century, from Caroline minuscule to Gothic textualis.[739] Pregothic script is, thus, entirely defined by what it is not (Caroline or Gothic), unsurprisingly characterised by great heterogeneity, and difficult to systematise. The 'national characteristics' of Praegothica identified by Giulio Battelli (Italian script was 'large and more beautiful than in other countries'; German script 'heavier and more angular') can be dismissed.[740] What does seem clear is that German scribes were, overall, more conservative than their French and English colleagues, and more reluctant to adopt the new Gothic scripts. Especially in the most prestigious scribal centres – still principally monastic institutions – scribes used essentially Caroline letter forms into the thirteenth century, in the late German variety Bernhard Bischoff called *schrägovale Stil* ('slanting-oval' style).[741] This was true in Bavaria as well as Saxony.[742] Lotharingian scribes, on the other hand, were more often wont to introduce 'Gothic' features into their handwriting, already in the first half of the twelfth century.[743] It is also important to stress that the monastic scriptorium presented particular conditions, which made the apparently desirable retention of Caroline script possible: in less refined environments, and in everyday books, 'Gothic' features were more widespread – narrower, more laterally compressed letters, a greater distinction between bold strokes and hairlines ('shading'), which gives the writing a heavier aspect, a 'strong equalising tendency' in the treatment of minims and ascenders (which gives rise to so-called 'minim confusion', where it is difficult to see the difference between, say, **ii** and **u** or **n**), and

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[739] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 56–71; on terminological problems, see ibid., p. 57.

[740] Cited in translation in ibid., p. 71.

[741] Bischoff, *Paläographie*, pp. 154–5; see also the English translation: Bischoff, *Palaeography*, pp. 120–1.

[742] See, for example, the hands of the Bavarian nuns in Beach, *Women as Scribes*; or the Saxon monks in Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*. On this script, see Bischoff, *Latin Paleography*, pp. 119–21.

[743] Ibid., pp. 131–3.

so on.[744] Increasing personal mobility, and the rise of avowedly international religious orders, such as the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians, contributed to the collapse of regional *Schriftschulen*. Teasing out the origin of a manuscript on the basis of handwriting is difficult enough at the most prestigious end of the spectrum in Germany in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, because of the great homogeneity of scribal styles; among 'lower-grade' manuscripts, on the other hand, it is the great variety of hands which bewilders and complicates.

This certainly applies to the Småland fragments, most of which are clearly from *Gebrauchsbücher*, where limited effort has been put into the aesthetic side of the presentation of the text. Several hands appear to be characterised by rapidity and, sometimes, carelessness, and occasionally by lack of expertise. This makes the task of the palaeographer wishing to identify the precise origin of imported books frustrating. Any plausible attribution would have to depend on the direct identification of a hand in a localisable Continental manuscript. But the material for comparison is so vast – and since so few complete breviaries have survived, where should one begin to look? – that finding such a match requires either the kind of experience and memory which even within the field of palaeography is the privilege of the few, or pure luck. Some fragments, it should nonetheless be noted, *are* from high-grade books, in calligraphic hands: they include, for example, CCM Br. 708 and SRA Fr. 23694. In fact, overall, and this is probably the most important palaeographical observation to be made about the fragments, the group exhibits considerable variety. This is not to say that there are no similarities between any of the hands: the general aspect of the hands in SRA Fr. 23591, 23593, and 23594 is relatively similar, for example. In general, however, palaeographical observations indicate that the group does not emanate from a single source, nor does it form part of a far-reaching institutional initiative – from the cathedral of Linköping (or Lund), for example – to supply Småland's rural churches with books for celebration of the hours. Dating the script precisely is also difficult, but given the presence of 'Gothic' features in all the fragments, although to a varying degree, it seems reasonable to

[744] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 56–9.

suggest that the majority date from the central decades of the twelfth century, in some cases possibly later.

Were any of the fragments, although 'German' in appearance, produced in Scandinavia? Certainly, some of the aspects characteristic of less prestigious books may be due to local production – although, as stressed repeatedly above, 'low-grade' handwriting must not be confused with the 'awkward' handwriting which – in some cases – could be taken as symptomatic of a Scandinavian scribal environment.[745] In a couple of cases a scribe, possibly local, appears to be amplifying tendencies already present in the imported material. Compare, for example, the strange, hesitant roundness of SRA Fr. 23619, which is unlikely to have been produced in a scriptorium where well-developed and affirmative norms and conventions were in place, with the similarly round and somewhat uneven but expert hand in Fr. 23589.[746] Or compare the jagged angularity and inexpert broken lines in SRA Fr. 23599 with the rapid, decidedly uncalligraphic, but professional hand in SRA Fr. 22015.[747] In the continuum between imported and local book-production described above in chapter two, Fr. 23619 and 23599 are certainly to be placed towards the local end. The situation – local practitioners imitating foreign masters with varying success – was perhaps similar to the first and second generations of craftsmen who made baptismal fonts described above, although the proportion of imported to local products seems considerably higher among the breviaries than the fonts.[748]

To conclude this section, a few words on the music in the fragments, which falls far outside my area of knowledge: all fragments contain musical notation, in the majority of cases distinctive 'German' neumes, written *in campo aperto*, that is,

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[745] See above, pp. 71–4.

[746] Fig. 13; note the curled shape of the majuscules: **U** in col. a, line 5; **E** in col. b, line 1; note the **h**-like **t+i** ligature in col. a, line 20, 'Testimoniu*m*'. Cf. fig. 14.

[747] Fig. 15 and fig. 16.

[748] See above, pp. 231–2.

without lines.[749] To be able to read such neumes, which give only sparse indications of the melodic line, the celebrant would need relatively extensive training, and know much of the repertoire by heart. As lined quadrata notation, the precursor of modern musical notation, became more widespread in the later middle ages, neumes *in campo aperto* must have presented great challenges to the celebrants. In a twelfth-century breviary fragment used by a Stockholm bailiff, two music scribes have used two different types of musical notation, Messine neumes and French *quadrata*, which must have been very confusing indeed.[750] In the later middle ages, according to Sven Helander, private reading, whether in the church or elsewhere, probably dominated parish practice in Sweden.[751] Helander has also found evidence of the hours being simplified in the late-medieval parish church, to facilitate celebration without a choir, but no such changes or additions can be perceived among the Småland breviary fragments. What few marginalia there are (four cases), are mostly contemporaneous with the main text, with one possible exception, which unfortunately is barely legible.[752]

5:2:3. Content: General Remarks

The fragmentary state of the Småland breviaries make them difficult to judge in terms of content: as no more than one or a few bifolia of any particular volume have

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[749] I am profoundly grateful to Susan Rankin for going through the musical notation in some of the fragments with me, which both made me aware of the potential of musical analysis of the fragments, and made me regret even more that it is not possible in the present context. Three of the thirty-nine attested books contained musical notation written on lines: CCM Br. 1598/1626 (SRA Fr. 5495 and 24094–5), CCM Br 708 (SRA Fr. 22897–900 and 22902), and SRA Fr. 24136.

[750] SRA Fr. 866 and 877 (CCM Cod. 132).

[751] Helander, 'Sockenkyrkans liturgiska profil', pp. 212–23; please note that an English translation of this has been published: ibid., 'The Liturgical Profile'.

[752] SRA Fr. 23621.1r; the other cases are as follows: SRA Fr. 22015.1v (a correction in the hand of the main text); Fr. 23599.1r (an antiphon missed out by the main scribe added in a contemporaneous hand); the lower margin of Fr. 23691.2v has a drawing of a knight with a name next to it ('Sigge Pärsson') in an early modern hand.

survived, it is impossible to get, say, a full overview of the repertoire of saints' feasts in any particular manuscript, which could have helped to point out particularly important or unusual feast days, and thus suggest an origin for the book. The standard tool for classifying office books based on the temporal – René-Jean Hésbert's *Corpus antiphonarium officii* – requires a full surviving set of antiphons for advent, impossible to retrieve in any of these cases. The following observations will therefore be very general indeed. First of all, it appears as if all fragments are from 'standard' breviaries, that is, books covering all hours for a whole year. Instances from outside the Småland group, where more numerous fragments have survived from one particular twelfth-century breviary, tend to support this impression (notably the thirteen fragments surviving from a seemingly German breviary, MPO Cod. 1420 (SRA, Fr. 9814–9826), used to bind accounts from central Sweden). What can be perceived of the sanctoral, as discussed below, does not give the impression of a 'skeletal' liturgy with very few proper texts, which could have been helpful in a peripheral church with limited possibilities for clerical schooling – major feasts at least (with three lessons per nocturn) tend to be furnished with numerous proper chants and prayers. Some of the books, it should be noted, may well have been divided into several volumes. The wide margins, generous ruling, and relatively large hand of SRA Fr. 23694, for example, makes one suspect that this could have been the case.[753] As noted above, there is no indication that any of the breviaries were made specifically for private devotion – none of them contain the 'miscellaneous' or votive offices one would expect in such a book. Again as noted above, in no instance can a fragment be identified as following monastic use.[754]

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[753] Fig. 17.

[754] This is not to say that fragments from these types of books cannot, categorically, be found in the group: they are simply impossible to identify as such.

5:2:4. Content: The Sanctoral

Out of the thirty-nine fragmentary Småland breviaries, six contain proper saints' offices. They are as follows:

SRA Fr. 6881	St Gregory the Great (12 Mar); St Benedict of Nursia (21 Mar); the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (25 Mar).
SRA Fr. 6909	St John the Baptist (24 Jun); SS John and Paul the martyrs (26 Jun); St Peter the Apostle (29 Jun).
CCM Br. 708	St Sylvester (31 Dec); St Hilary of Poitiers (14 Jan); St Paul the hermit (15 Jan); St Maurus (15 Jan); SS Fabian and Sebastian (20 Jan); St Agnes (21 Jan); St Vincent (22 Jan); the Conversion of St Paul the Apostle (25 Jan) [SRA Fr. 22898, 22900, and 22902].
CCM Br. 1241	SS Peter and Paul the Apostles (29 Jun); St Paul the Apostle (30 Jun).
CCM Br. 1276	SS Peter and Paul the Apostles (29 Jun); St Paul the Apostle (30 Jun); St Matthew the Evangelist (21 Sep); St Maurice (22 Sep); St Florentius (22 Sep?); SS Cosma and Damian (27 Sep); St Wenceslaus of Bohemia (28 Sep); SS Remigius, Germanus, and Vedastus (1 Oct); The Two Ewalds (3 Oct); SS Valentine and Hilary (3 Nov); St Martin of Tours (11 Nov) [SRA Fr. 23666–9].
SRA Fr. 23693	St Luke (18 Oct); SS Simon and Jude the Apostles (28 Oct); All Saints (1 Nov); St Caesarius the martyr (1 Nov).

Few of the offices have survived intact. Most are also, as should be immediately evident, universal feasts – apostles, Roman martyrs, and church fathers – whose presence says little about the origin of the breviaries. Highly interesting exceptions occur in CCM Br 1276, of which four bifolia survive. The leaves are from a breviary with what must have been a relatively lengthy sanctoral: lessons are considerably

longer than in most of the other fragments, also for saints whose feasts are of a lesser degree and contain few proper musical items or prayers: the feast of St Florentius, for example, has three lessons only (although misnumbered by the rubricator as one, three, and five), one short invitatory chant, and a short prayer for the end of lauds, yet takes up around a page and a third of relatively densely written text. A number of the feasts included are unusual in a Scandinavian context. 'The two Ewalds' – Ewald the dark and Ewald the fair, Northumbrian missionaries martyred in Saxony in the late seventh century – were the patron saints of Cologne. Their feast was commonly celebrated in Saxony and western Germany, but in a Scandinavian context seems to occur only in very rich calendars, based on a particular martyrology, and where not every saint included was expected to be celebrated, notably the calendar in two Lund sources, the *Liber daticus vetustior* (Lund, 1139×46, probably 1145) and the Colbaz annals (Lund, c. 1150), and also the so-called *Liber ecclesiae Vallentunensis* (central Sweden, around 1198).[755] In the breviary fragment, the office is incomplete – consisting of the first lesson of matins and the first line of the second lesson only, which makes it impossible to judge the liturgical degree of the feast within the breviary. The absence of any proper chants or prayers at the beginning of matins does however indicate that the feast was not particularly prominent within the manuscript. The cult of St Wenceslaus of Bohemia became widespread in Germany in the twelfth century; in Scandinavia it occurs very infrequently, but his name is in the calendar of the Colbaz annals.[756]

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[755] Weeke, ed., *Libri memoriales Lundenses* I, 253; Kroman, ed., *Annales*, p. 65 (facsimile, see above p. 176n for the inadequacies of printed editions of the Colbaz annals; on the calendar of the Colbaz annals, see L. Weibull, 'Annalerna og kalendariet fra Colbaz', pp. 178–1); Schmid, ed., *Liber ecclesiæ Vallentunensis*, p. 92. Cf. Zilliken, 'Der Kölner Festkalender'; Miesges, *Der Trierer Festkalender*; Honselmann, 'Ein Festkalender des Paderborner Domes'.

[756] Kroman, ed., *Annales*, p. 64 (as *Wirazlaus martyr*); cf. the German calendars edited in Lechner, *Mittelalterliche Kirchenfeste und Kalendarien in Bayern*; Zilliken, 'Der Kölner Festkalender'; Miesges, *Der Trierer Festkalender*.

The most interesting and puzzling saint in the breviary fragment is St Florentius, whose office – as noted above, is preserved almost in full.[757] There are numerous saints with this name: the Bollandists could give details on twenty-one in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[758] The most widespread martyrologies, those of Usuard (c. 858) and Ado of Vienne (c. 855), contain four and six saints bearing the name respectively.[759] The Florentius-office in CCM Br. 1276 directly precedes that of St Matthew (21 Sep), and the closest feast would seem to be that of St Florentius of Poitou, a confessor saint and an associate of St Martin of Tours, listed under 22 September in Usuard's martyrology. Already the rubric in the breviary fragment falls short of this identification, however: this is a *Florentius episcopus et martyr*, and when the first lesson begins, he is already past his beheading ('post decollationem suam').[760] To my knowledge, the only bishop-martyr of that name is Florentius of Vienne (3 Jan), who appears in Ado's martyrology and, in a Scandinavian context, also in the version of Ado adopted at Lund (*Liber daticus vetustior*). The lessons, however, which all concern the aftermath of Florentius's martyrdom, and the fate of his body, seem to be taken from a *passio* of St Florentius of Perugia (5 Jun), martyred with his companions in the Decian persecution, and mentioned in Hieronymian martyrology (but not by Ado or Usuard).[761] The office of Florentius in the breviary fragment thus seems to be a conflation of three different saints of the same name: the feast date of the one, the title of another, and the *passio* of a third. The compiler of the breviary was nevertheless in good company: also the eminent martyrologists of the 850s found the variety of *sancti Florentii* bewildering.[762] I have not been able to identify the source of the lessons; the text is certainly not related to the *passio Florentinii et*

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[757] Fig. 18.

[758] As per the online database at http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk/ (accessed May 2010).

[759] Dubois, ed., *Le martyrologe d'Usuard*, pp. 268, 307, 323 and 329; Dubois and Renaud, ed., *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp. 45, 66, 207, 226, 361, and 367; on the relations between the principal Western martyrologies, see Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge.*

[760] SRA Fr. 23666.1ra: see fig. 18.

[761] Certainly, the events described in the lessons (although imperfectly preserved) take place in Perugia.

[762] See for example Dubois and Renaud, ed., *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 207.

sociorum edited by the Bollandists.[763] The inclusion in the Småland breviary of two even more obscure Roman martyrs, SS Valentine the priest and Hilary the deacon – where the lessons are relatively close to the *passio* published in the *Acta Sanctorum* – could be from the same source.[764] Whoever compiled the breviary (or its model) must either have been active in a centre where these saints were especially venerated – although the confusion about dates and names appears to speak in favour of another explanation – or he could have been following a particular hagiographic compilation, a passionary presumably, from which he lifted extensive excerpts. Despite these uncertainties, at least the fragments from CCM Br. 1276 show that, among the Småland fragments, there are remains of German manuscripts – and the inclusion of the two Ewalds and St Wenceslaus (as well as the script and notation) strongly indicate a German origin – that on the face of it made little sense in a Scandinavian context. Yet again, one could only wonder what the celebrants of later generations thought about the inclusion of feasts which would have as obscure to them as to most of their peers and superiors.

A good indicator that a fragment would either have been produced in Scandinavia, or with usage in Scandinavia in mind, is the presence of Scandinavian saints. These are rare in the earliest Swedish material, and evidently do not appear in the Småland breviary group. In a breviary fragment from around the same time, and close to the Småland group, there is however an appearance of St Olav of Norway, whose name has been added to the prayer for SS Simplicius, Faustinus, and Beatrice (29 Jul; SRA Fr. 23657 (CCM Mi 1269)). Olav's name could first seem to have been added almost as an afterthought, or even be a scribal error, where a marginal reference has been copied into the main text – a simple *atque Olavi* integrated into the prayer for the three Roman martyrs. It is however far from the only occurrence of this phenomenon: in fact, the formula *atque Olavi* integrated into another saints' feast can be attested in several fragments of both mass- and office-books from the late

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[763] *AS* Jun. I, 33–9 (1 Jun).

[764] Ibid. Nov. I, 613–35 (3 Nov).

twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in the Stockholm collection.[765] They are the earliest attestations of the liturgy of St Olav in Scandinavia, and a timely warning against assuming that the acquisition of liturgical manuscripts by the twelfth-century Swedish church was entirely haphazard: even if the addition of Olav's name represents only a very small change to the text these books were modelled on, these fragments are clearly from books intended to be used in a Scandinavian context.

5:2:5. Conclusions: Diversity or Uniformity?

As mentioned above, the Småland group of breviary fragments looks superficially homogenous. This superficial impression should not be dismissed: given that the breviary by the twelfth century had not yet taken on its 'canonical' form, the fact that rural churches in twelfth-century southern Sweden were expected to be supplied with breviaries mostly of similar format is still remarkable. It shows, if not liturgical uniformity, at least a considerable commonality of purpose. The builders and patrons of churches in twelfth-century Småland were an ambitious generation: they acquired the most up-to-date books, and made sure the provisions were made for a canonical celebration of the full hours. Where and how the books were acquired still remains unclear: overall, however, there is no evidence that books were commissioned and disseminated in large numbers by a particular institution. The mechanics for controlling liturgical practice across a diocese were not yet in place. Again, this is not to say that books were acquired arbitrarily, but only to highlight the importance of small-scale initiatives in enabling the cultural transfer which, in turn, formed the basis for Christian religious practice. Today it is difficult to put oneself into the mind of the twelfth-century Smålander, to understand quite how novel the new religion, also in its external manifestations, must have been. This was a land which had never before seen stone buildings, and suddenly the region was full of them, an entirely new sacred landscape created within the space of a few generations. The breviaries show how the church builders and the clergy transformed not only space, but also time: together with the church bell the celebration of the liturgical hours created a

[765] Brunius, *Atque Olavi*, pp. 28 and 99.

new sense of the division and passing of the day and the year. Like stone buildings and church towers, they marked out the separateness of the sacred from the world, and whether it was a peasant collective, a bishop, a nobleman, or a king (or – more likely – some sort of combination of all or several of these forces) who had provided for the building of the church, for its bell and its books, it was in their interest that it should be as distinguished and distinct as resources permitted. Breviaries were useful in Sweden both because of the limited preconditions for full-scale, choral liturgy, and because they allowed the relatively straightforward transmission of both texts and instructions for celebrating the hours. They were created for a literate mentality, of particular importance at the European periphery, where the opportunities for effective oral transmission and memorisation of liturgical texts and practices were limited.

6. Concluding Remarks

It would be nice, in some ways, to end the thesis with a simple 'result' or 'discovery', like the condensed symmetry at the end of an arduous mathematical calculation. Such a conclusion, however, would be impossible here, and indeed antithetical to the spirit in which I have approached my subject. Instead, I will offer a brief summary of my results, and connect them with the concerns raised in the introduction. For a more detailed discussion of my results, the reader is referred to the concluding sections at the end of each chapter. I will also take the opportunity for a brief glance forward in time, in two ways – that is, both beyond the chronological limits of my thesis, and into related areas which could benefit from further scholarly attention. The latter aspect is important, I think, because the history of central-medieval Scandinavia can sometimes seem like a too well-tilled field: primary sources are few, and the secondary literature vast in comparison. The debates are old and must often, to the outsider, seem repetitive and difficult to understand. To continue the agricultural metaphor: it is all too easy to feel that the field needs to left fallow for a while. A better solution, however, is crop rotation: the introduction of new concerns, new debates, which can enliven the old points of contention. It is striking how productive and interesting the clash between entrenched historiographical traditions which results from comparative history-writing can be: the quite different evaluations of the character and trustworthiness of Adam of Bremen in most German and Scandinavian history-writing are an interesting example.

What I hope to have achieved is, first, to have pointed out the (perhaps obvious) fact that, even if the Hamburg-Bremen legateship, within the century studied in this thesis, received blow after blow to the high level of influence and power it had achieved in Scandinavia during the archiepiscopate of Adalbert, this does not mean that German influence in general on the Scandinavian church decreased in this period. On the contrary, opportunities for contact, and as a result, opportunities for cultural transfer, increased. The fragments of liturgical books in Scandinavian

archives, and the books of the cathedral chapter of St Lawrence's at Lund provide ample evidence of the results of this increasing contact. Second, I hope to have provided a picture of the Hamburg-Bremen mission (and its chronicler Adam) that is rather more subtle and multi-facetted than has sometimes been the case in Scandinavian history-writing; not always as an agent of a (presumed) aggressive, imperialist, anti-papal drive to the north, but also as a sometimes quite successful (and sometimes not at all successful) institution, itself very much a peripheral church, trying to bring its own order into the quickly changing northern world. Third, I hope to have articulated and exemplified the tension inherent within the early Swedish and Danish churches between their rudimentary circumstances and the high ambitions of proponents of late eleventh- and twelfth-century modernity. These tensions can be illustrated by the activities of the ambitious, and sometimes decidedly unconventional, travelling clerics who chose to make themselves at home in the distant north, by the German affiliations of the canons at St Lawrence's, and by the remarkably modern books of the rural priests of the dark forests of Småland.

Some of the themes running through scholarly models of central-medieval 'Europeanisation' – the frontier and its colonisation by a new, ravenous aristocracy – might seem rather far removed from the cultural historian's account of the changes the Scandinavian periphery was undergoing in this period. And if I have underemphasised conflict, violence, and coercion in favour of conciliatory gestures and collaboration in my account, it has not been to deny that several conflicting parties were involved in the process of building up the Scandinavian church; instead, it has been an attempt to avoid some of the assumptions about factionalism and long-lasting enmity – in particular between Denmark and Germany – which have arisen out of historical developments which took place in the end of, or after, my thesis's timeframe. Just like archbishops Adalbert and Liemar of Hamburg-Bremen came to be seen in a different light in retrospect, after the convulsions of the struggle between pope and emperor, German-Danish relations acquired new meaning in the twelfth century, in particular its second half. The chronicles of Helmold, Saxo, and others constructed a narrative of constant tension between the two: a continuum

between the heroic/barbaric 'viking' kings and the triumph of Valdemarian expansionism. This narrative has left pernicious residues of nationalism which the modern scholar does best to avoid.

It was of course also only in the second half of the twelfth century that many of the developments which I have introduced in my thesis came into their own right: Europeanisation continued. Eskil, Absalon, and Anders Sunesen were clearly much more closely involved in the European ecclesio-political turmoil than ever Asser. The so-called Baltic crusades led to confrontation and interaction between German, Swedish, and Danish warriors and churchmen on an unprecedented scale. The climax of Romanesque church building in Scandinavia was the century between 1150 and 1250. The arrival of the Cistercians provided entirely new routes for regular, institutionalised cultural exchange. The creation of the Hanseatic League brought German-speakers in large numbers to Scandinavian towns on a permanent basis. Continuing the discussion of German influence on religious practice into this period would certainly be of interest. There are also, however, many areas which require and deserve serious scholarly attention before the changes the Scandinavian church underwent in the period between 1050 and 1150 can be properly understood. The manuscript fragments in the Scandinavian archives still deserve much more attention from liturgists, musicologists, palaeographers, art historians, and historians alike. The twelfth-century Scandinavian church still needs a comprehensive synthetic treatment, which breaches both national and disciplinary borders. Quite how the tail-end of the Christianisation of Scandinavia can be fitted into the making of Europe still needs to be discussed and explored. I can only hope to have brought one more piece to this puzzle – and to have rearranged some of those that were already there – and this in the full knowledge that it is a puzzle that will never be solved. But for a fragmentary subject-matter, a fragmentary study is sometimes the most suitable.

PLATES

All unattributed photographs are by the author.

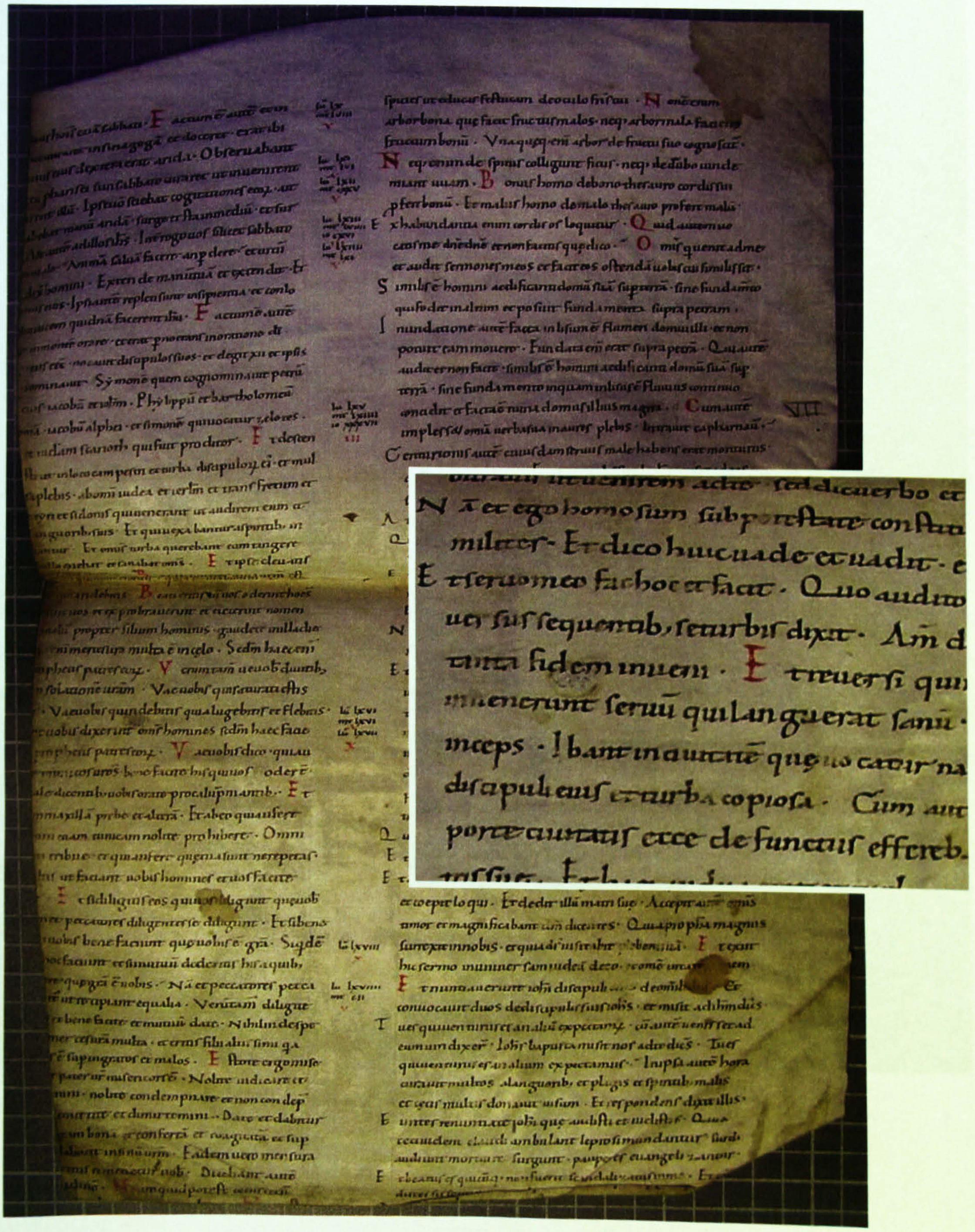


Fig. 1: SRA Fr. 21055 1v–2r

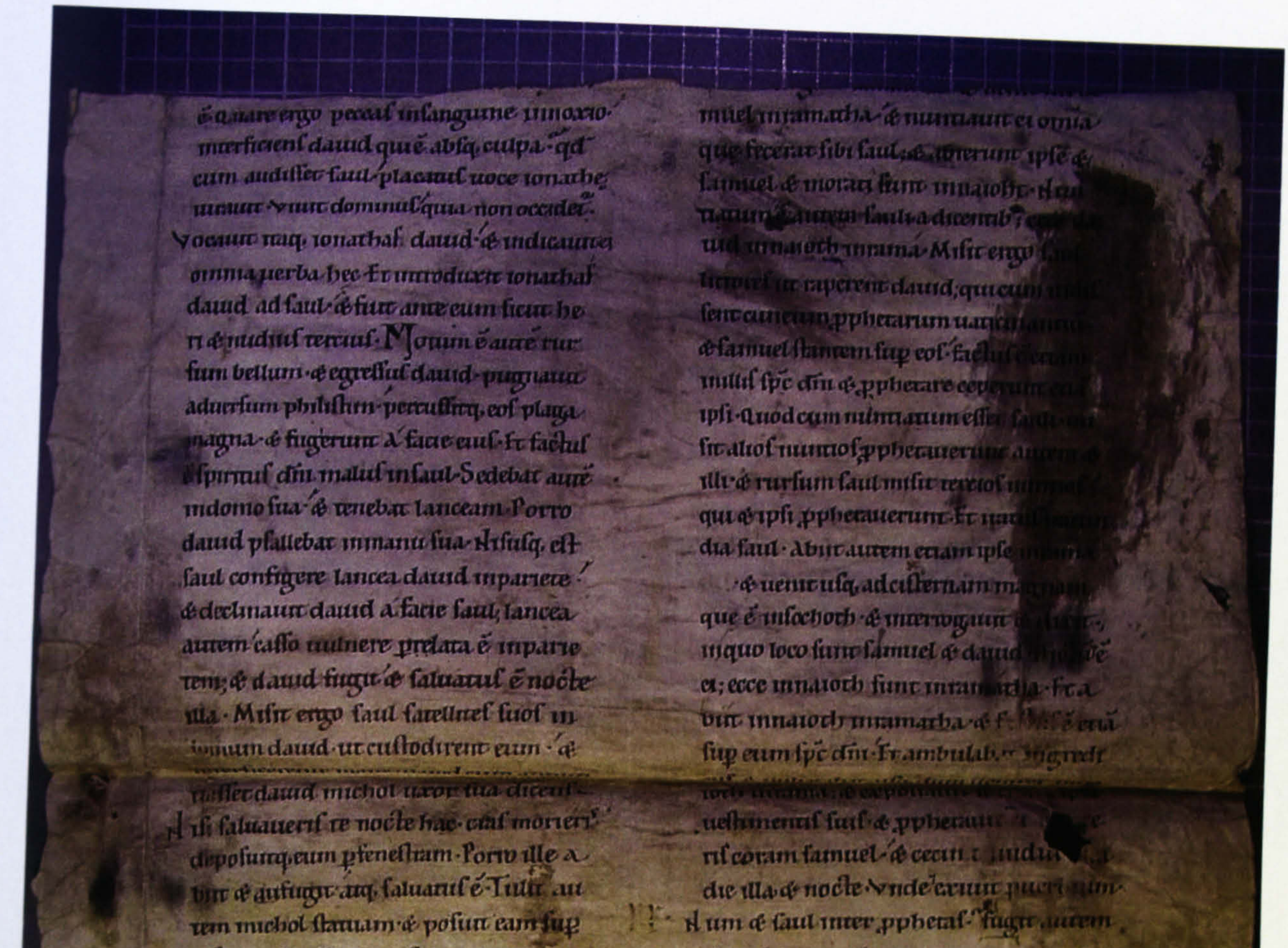


Fig. 2: SRA Fr. 21058 1v–2r

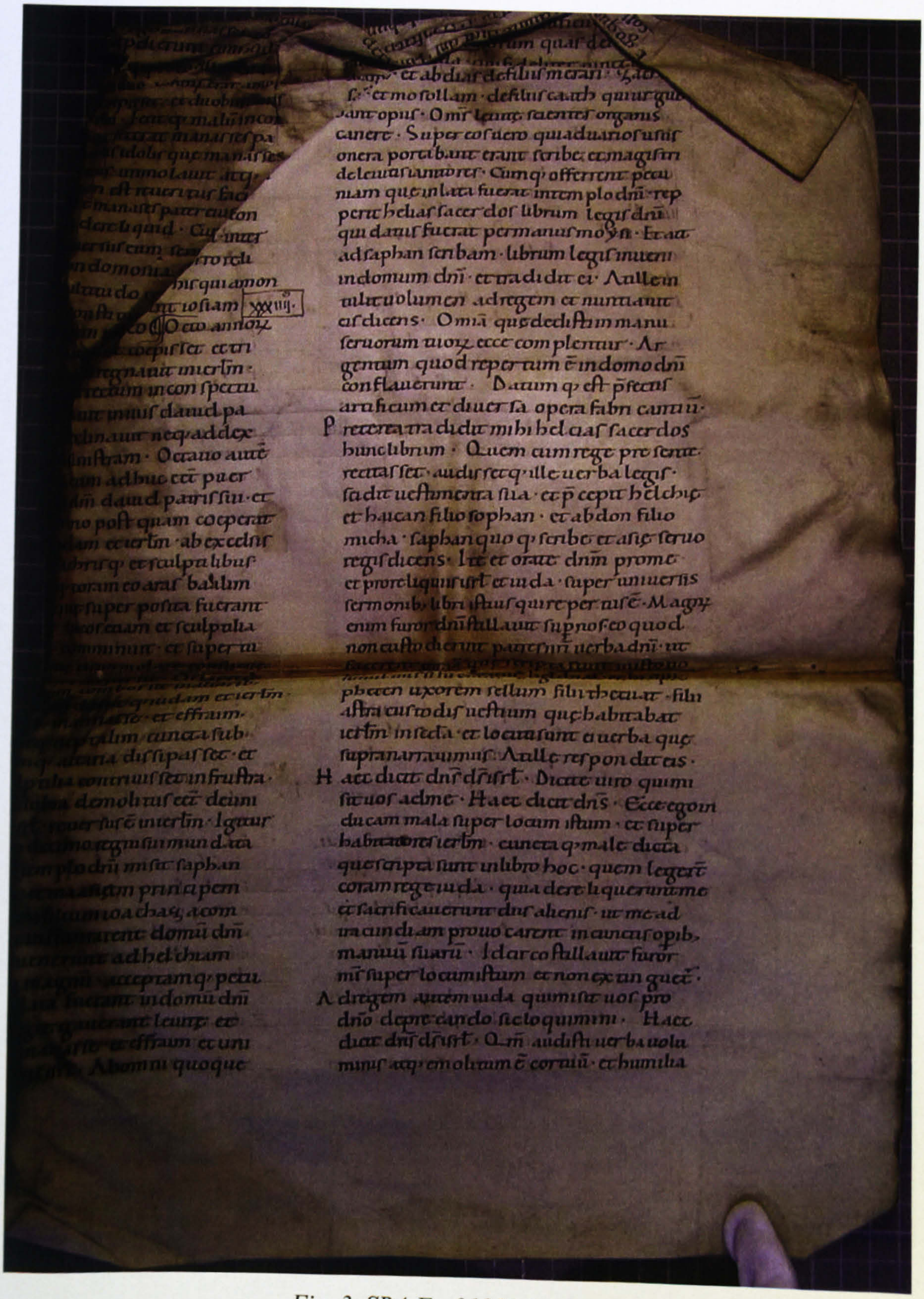


Fig. 3. SRA Fr. 21008 1v–2r

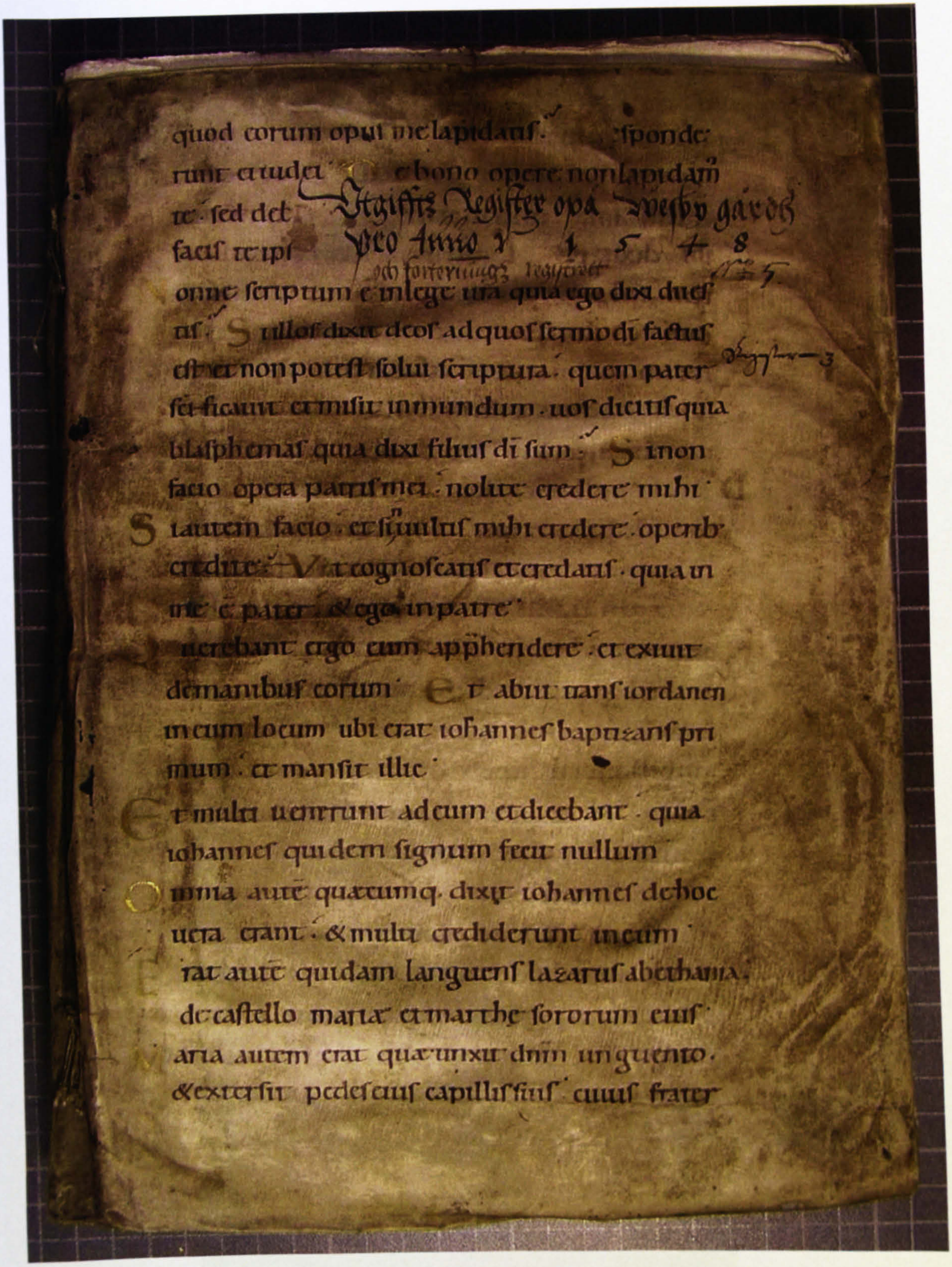


Fig. 4. SRA Fr. 3596r

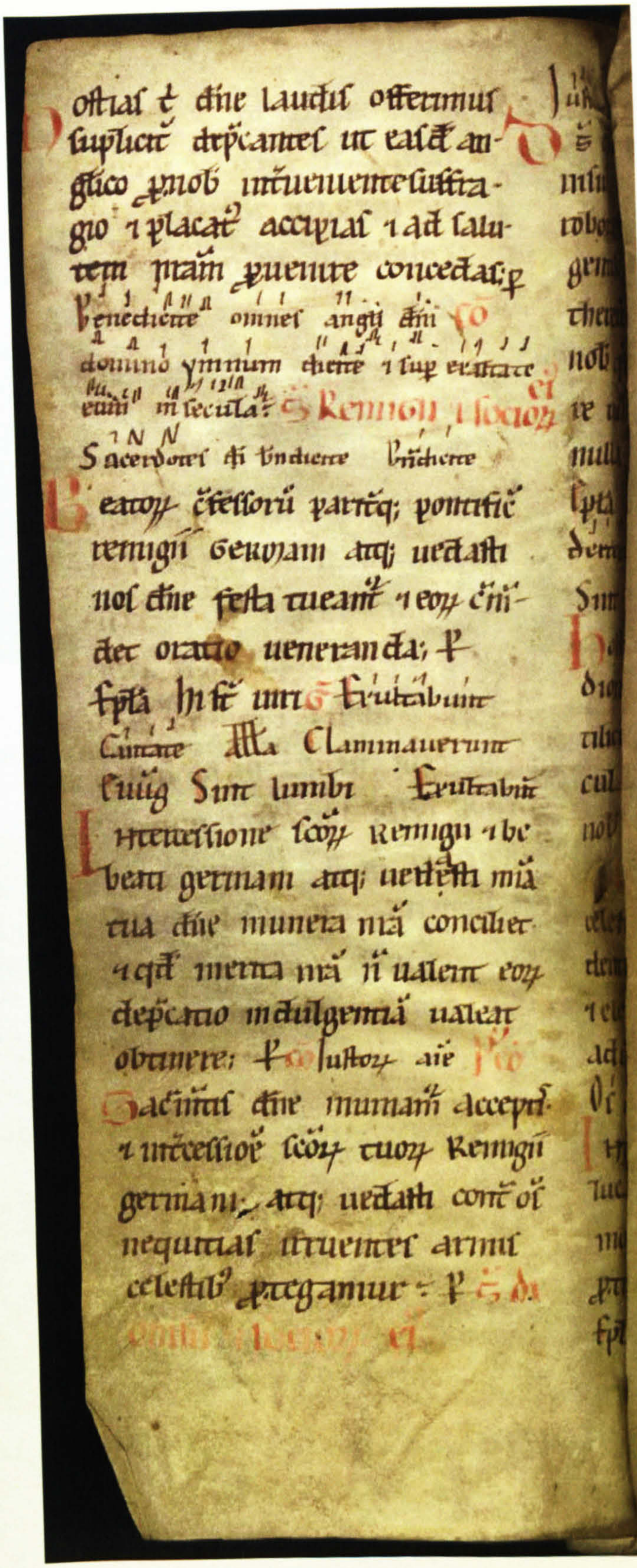


Fig. 5: SRA Fr. 27185r (photograph: Riksarkivet, Stockholm)

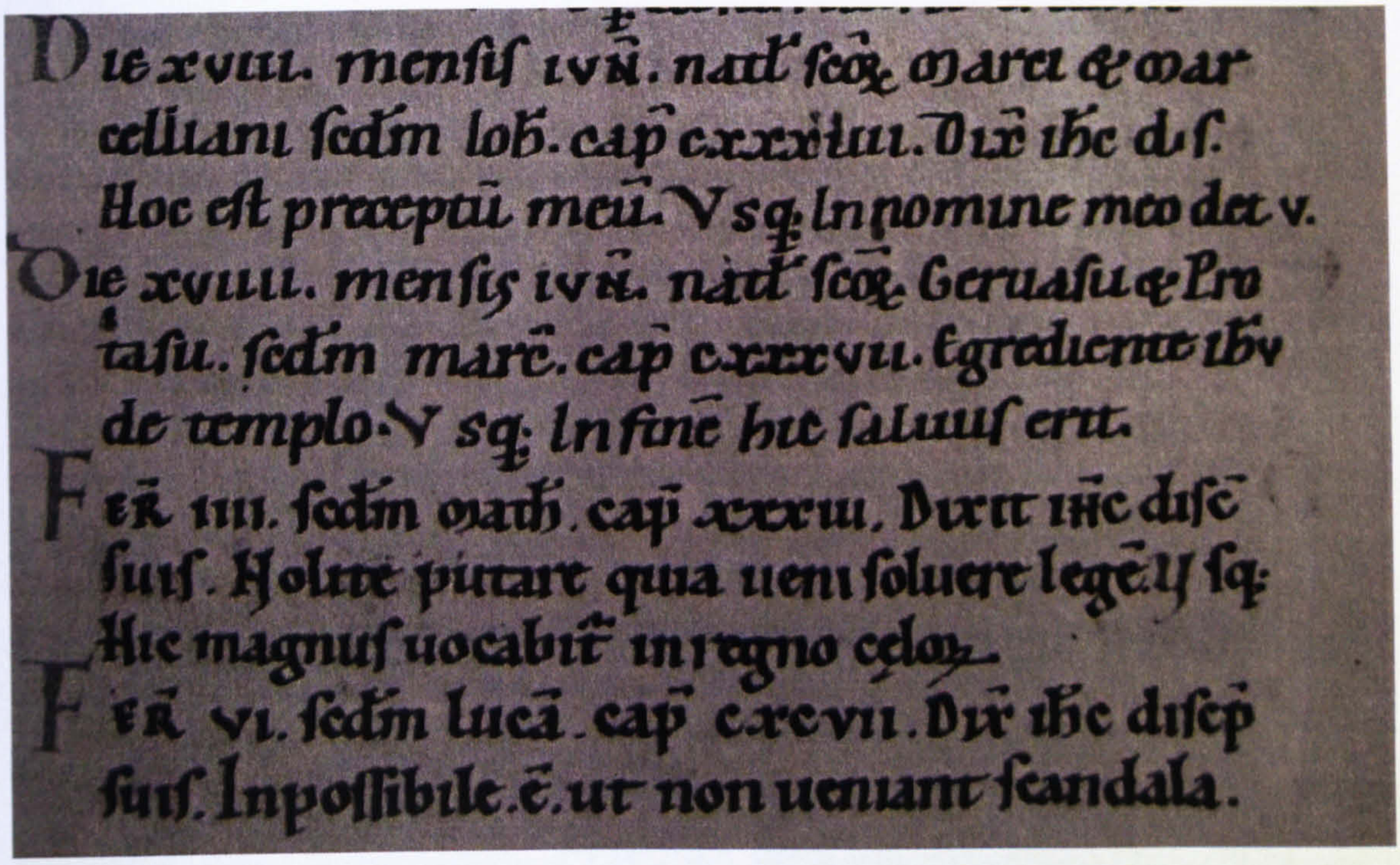

Die xviii. mensis iviñ. natꝯ scoꝝ ofarci & coar
celliani scdm lob. capꝯ cxxxiiii. Dixꝯ ihc dis.
Hoc est preceptū meū. V sq; In nomine meo dea v.
Die xviiii. mensis iviñ. natꝯ scoꝝ Gerualsi & Pro
tasii. scdm marcꝯ. capꝯ cxxxvii. Egredienteꝫ ihv
de templo. V sq; In finē hic saluus erit.
Fer iiii. scdm oath. capꝯ xxxvii. Dixit ihc discꝯ
suis. Nolite putare quia ueni soluere legē. V sq;
Hic magnus uocabitꝫ in regno cęlorꝝ.
Fer vi. scdm lucā. capꝯ cxcvii. Dixꝯ ihc discꝯ
suis. Inpossibile. ē. ut non ueniant scandala.

Fig. 6: Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 83, fol. 1682 (detail; from Hoffmann, Bücher und Urkunden*)*

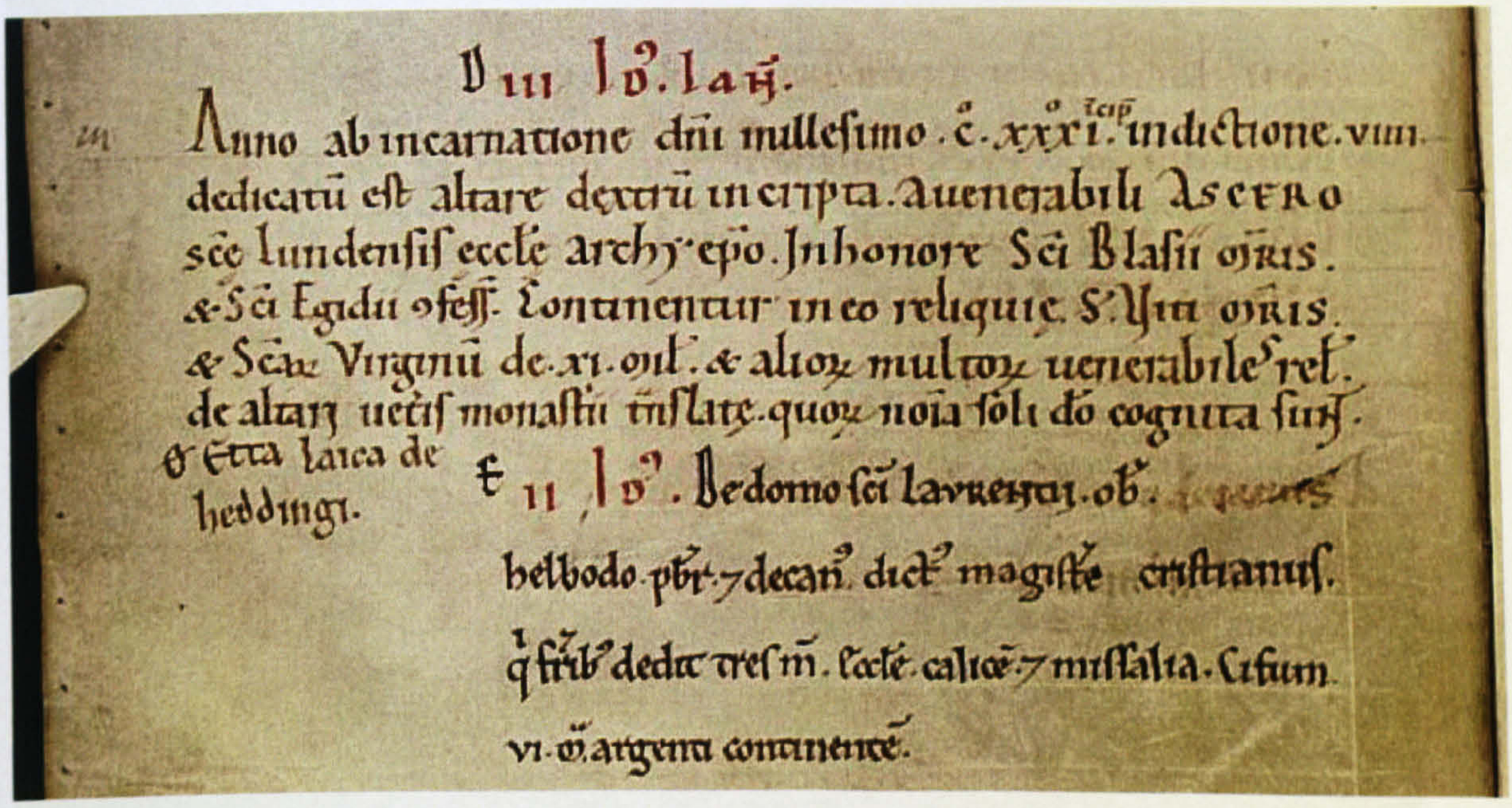

Vii Id. Iah.
Anno ab incarnatione dñi millesimo. c. xxxi. indictione. vim.
dedicatū est altare dextrū in crypta. Auenerabili Aseero
scē lundensis eccle archyepo. In honore Sci Blasii oris.
& Sci Egidii ofess. Continentur in eo reliquie. S. Yti oris.
& Scae Virginū de. xi. mil. & aliorꝝ multorꝝ uenerabileꝫ rel.
de altari uetis monasterii tinlitę. quorꝝ noia soli dō cognita sunt.
Etta laica de heddingi.
Ii Id. Dedomo sci Laurentii. ob.
helbodo. pbr. 7 decan. dicti magistē cristianus.
q frib dedit tres m. eccle. calicē. 7 missalia. Cibum
vi. ō. argenta continentē.

Fig. 7: Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Mh 6, fol. 125v (detail; photograph: Lund University Library)

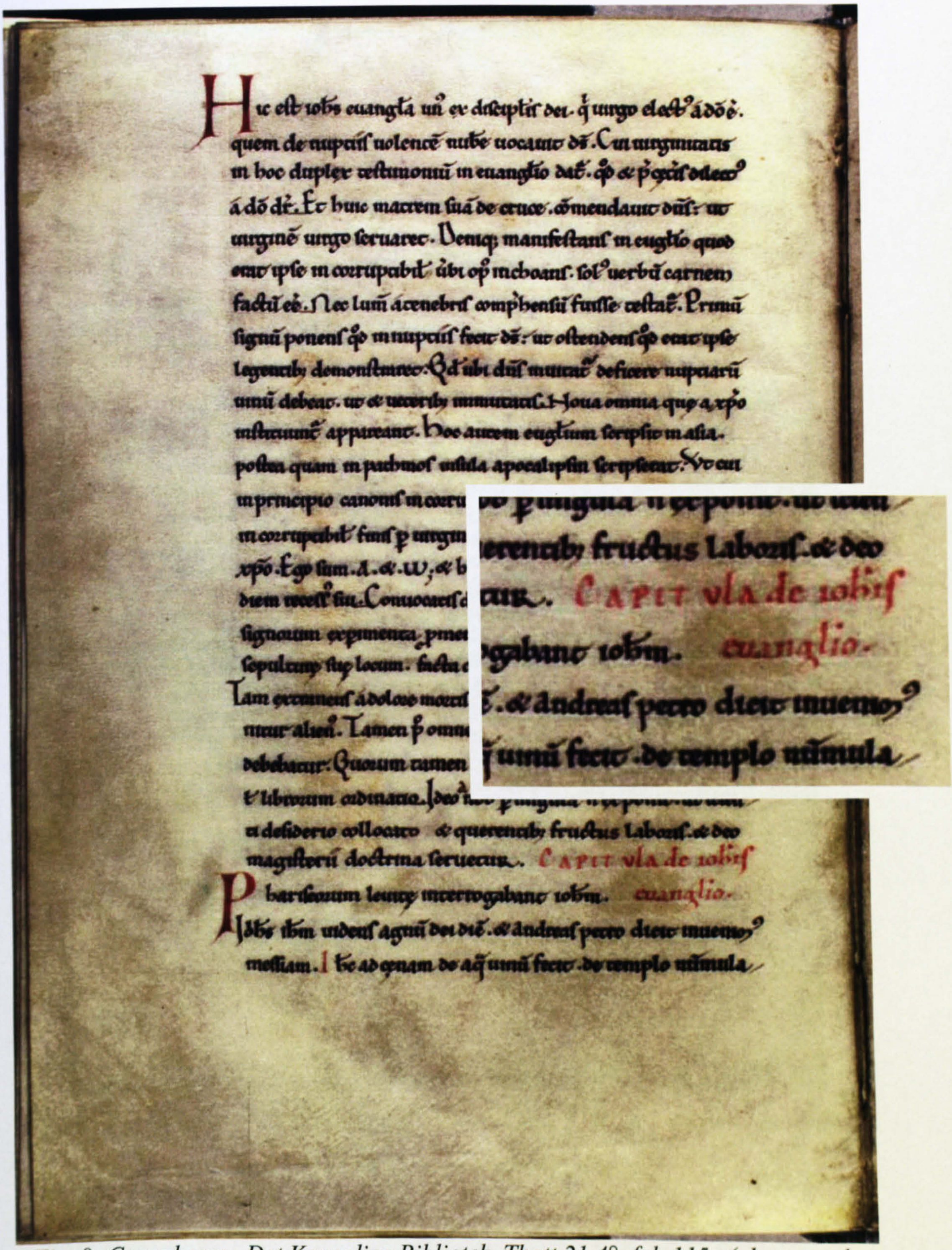


Fig. 8: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 21 4°, fol. 115v (photograph: The Royal Library, Copenhagen)

INCIPIT PROLOGVS S̄ IOH̄IS.

HIC EST IOHANNES EVGELISTA unus ex discipulis dī. qui uirgo electꝰ ad hoc̄ est: quē de nuptiis uolentē nubere uocauit dn̄s. Cui uirginitatis in hoc duplex testimoniū in euangelio datur: qđ ꝙ præcæteris dilectus ad hoc̄ dicitur: & hu ic matrē suam de cruce cōmendauit dn̄s: ut uirginē uirgo seruaret. Denique manifestans in euangelio qđ erat ipse incorruptibilis uerbi opus inchoans. solus uerbū carnē factū cē: Hec lumen a tenebris cōprehensum fuisse testatur. Primū signū ponens qđ in nuptiis fecit dn̄s: ut ostendens qđ erat ipse legem a bus demonstraret. Qđ ubi dn̄s in nuptiis deficere uinū debere: ut ꝛet ueteribus imutatis. Nouaq̄ oīa que ex pō instituuntur: apparerent. Hoc aut̄ egm scripsit in asia: postea quā in patmos insula apocalipsin scripserat. Ut cum principio canonis incorruptibile prin cipium in geneſi: ꝙ in̄ incorruptibilis finis ꝙ uirginē in apocalipsi redderetur dicente xp̄o. Ego sum. A. & ω. ēt hic ē iohannes qui faciens supuenisse diem re cessus sui: conuocatis discipulis suis in epheso. ꝙ multa signorū experimēta ꝙmens

Fig. 9: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 22 4°, fol. 115v (photograph: The Royal Library, Copenhagen)

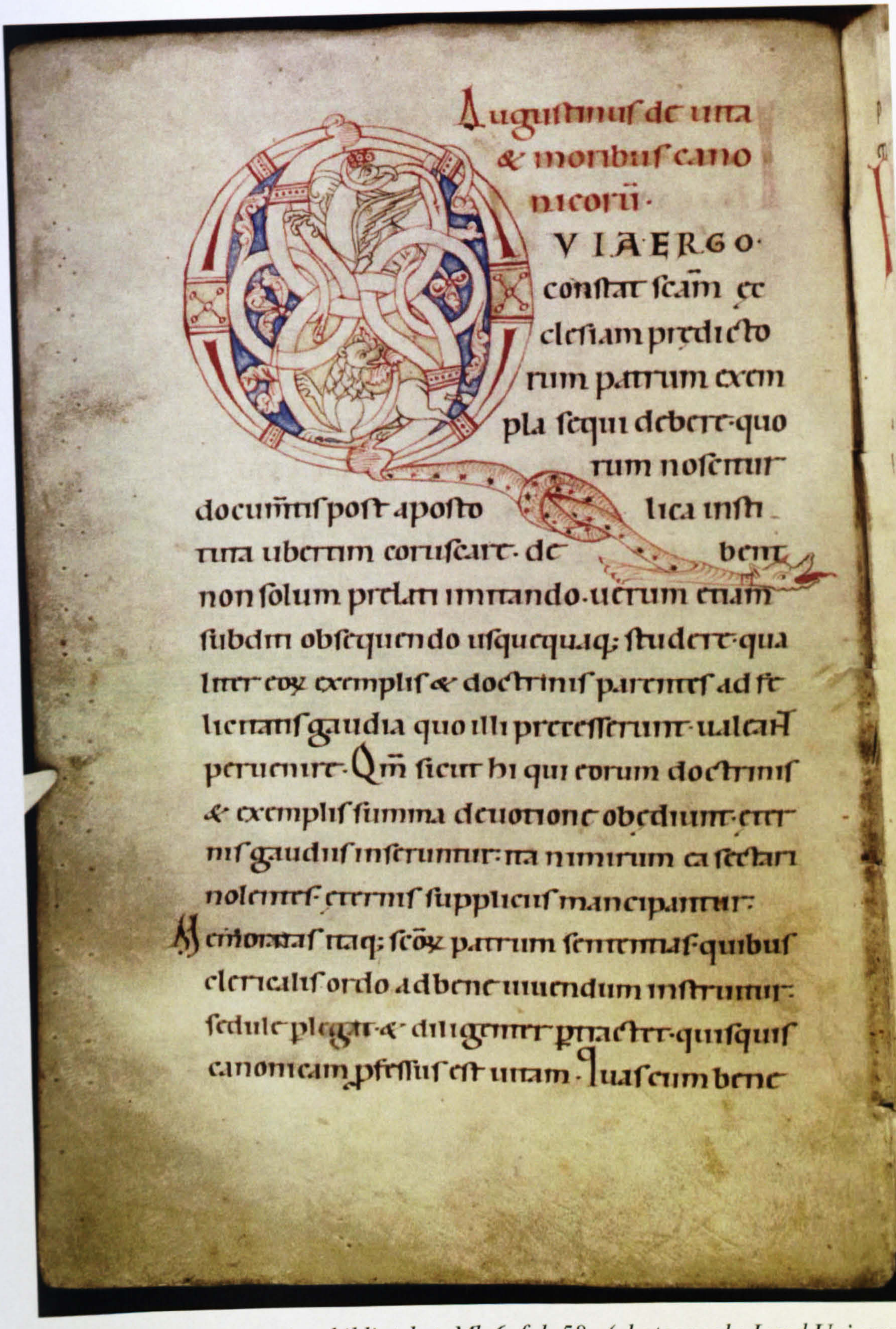
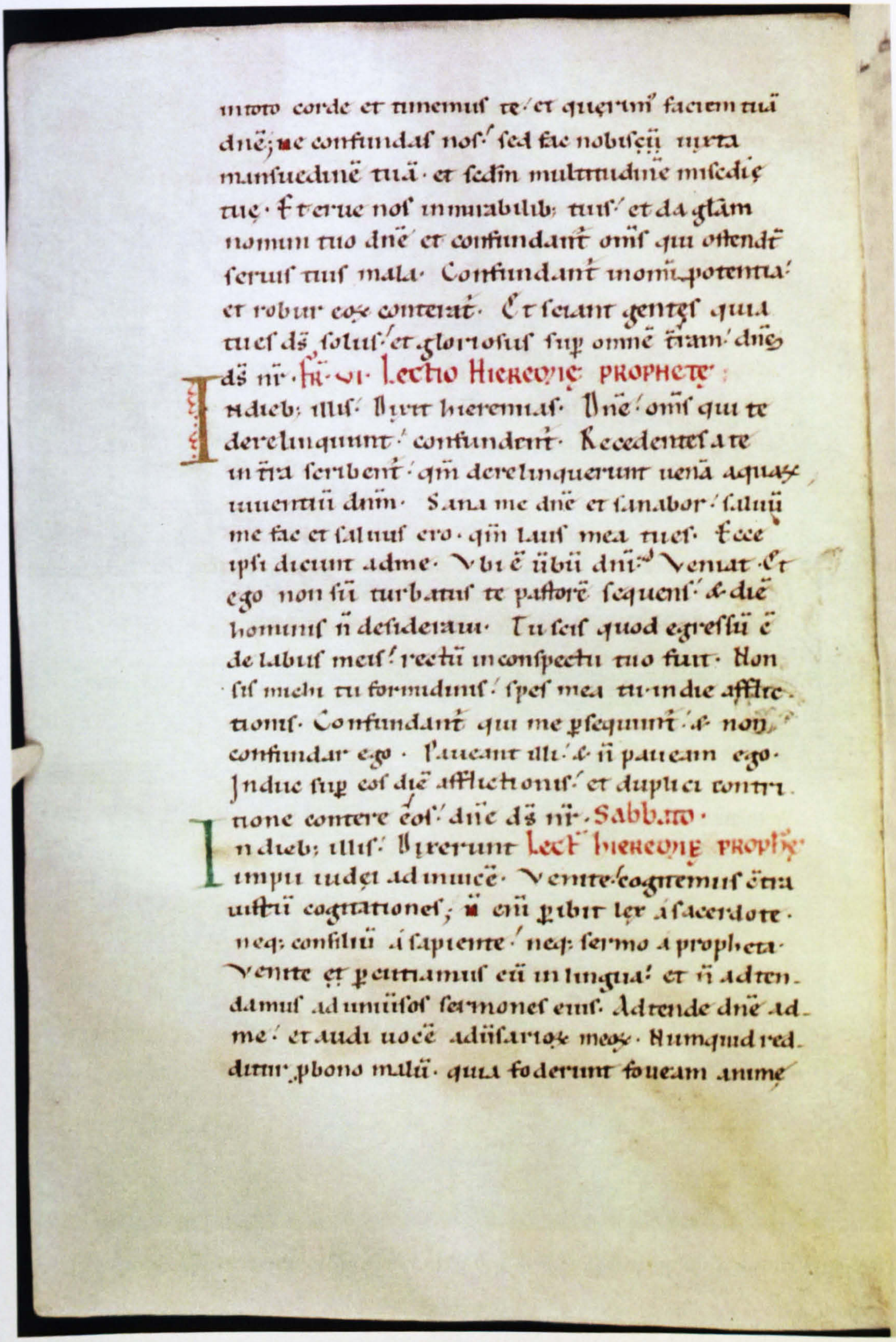


Fig. 10: Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Mh 6, fol. 58v (photograph: Lund University Library)



mtoto corde et timemus te/ et quęrim' faciem tuã
dnẽ; ne confundas nos/ sed fac nobiscũ ꝟm
mansuedinẽ tuã· et secdm multitudinẽ miscdię
tuę· & terue nos inmitabilib; tuis/ et da glãm
nomin tuo dnẽ et confundant' omes qui ostendũt
seruis tuis mala· Confundant' nomĩ potentia/
et robur eor conterat· Et sciant gentes quia
tues ds̃ solus/ et gloriosus sup omnẽ tram/ dnẽ
ds̃ nr̃· fr̃· vi· Lectio Hieremie prophete/
In diebꝫ illis/ Dixit hieremias· Dne/ omes qui te
derelinquunt/ confundent· Recedentes a te
in tra scribent/ qm̃ dereliquerunt uenã aquaꝝ
uiuentiũ dñm· Sana me dnẽ et sanabor/ saluũ
me fac et saluus ero· qm̃ laus mea tues· Ecce
ipsi dicunt adme· Vbi ẽ ũbũ dñi/ Veniat· Et
ego non sũ turbatus te pastorẽ sequens/ & diẽ
hominis nõ desideraui· Tu scis quod egressũ ẽ
de labiis meis/ rectũ in conspectu tuo fuit· Non
sis mihi tu formidini/ spes mea tu in die afflic-
tionis· Confundant' qui me psequunt/ & non
confundar ego· Pauent illi/ & nõ pauescam ego·
Induc sup eos diẽ afflictionis/ et duplici contri-
tione contere eos/ dne ds̃ nr̃· Sabb.to·
In diebꝫ illis/ Dixerunt Lect̃ hieremie prophe/
impii iudei ad inuicẽ· Venite/ cogitemus ctra
uultũ cogitationes; nã ꝟibit lex a sacerdote·
neq; consiliũ a sapiente/ neq; sermo a propheta·
Venite et percutiamus eũ in lingua/ et nõ adten-
damus ad uniũsos sermones eius· Adtende dnẽ ad-
me/ et audi uocẽ aduersariorꝫ meorꝫ· Numqd red-
ditur pro bono malũ· quia foderunt foueam animę

Fig. 11: Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Mh 2, fol. 27v (photograph: Lund University Library)

€ iii kl' Rome aptor Petri y Pauli. Thorht
pbr. ob. z Brigida scīmoniał' s oyakie y sā'
pet' Lundis.

& soror nr̄a gargarta dicta gagga. y tola scīmoniał' uidua

€ ii kl' Commemoratio sci Pauli. &
Dedicatio altaris. y crypte beati laurentij.
celebrata a uenerabili Ascero eusdē sancte
lundensis ecclie y omiū danoz primo archi
epo. anno incarnationis dn̄i. oy. c. xxiij. mo.mo.mo.o. Indict. i.
pontificat' aut̄e domni asceri anno. xxxiiij. mo to. In hono-
re sci johis baptiste. y omiū patriarchaz y ypheraz.
impositis scoz reliquiis. De tumo dn̄i. de sepulchro
dn̄i. de psepio dn̄i. de Ascensa dn̄i. de Caluarie loco.
de pet' sup' q' nat' dn̄s. de pet' sup' q' stabat the qn̄ dix
discptis suis. pax uob. De ret soz Marie. Apollinaris.
Timothei. y symphoriani. de capite sci. Gregorij. pp.
Willehadi. Anscarij. y Rimberi epoz Heribri. y Baroncis
archiepoz de Yeste sci Symeonis. de sepulcro.
Lazari.

Fig. 12: Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Mh 6, fol. 47v (photograph: Lund University Library)

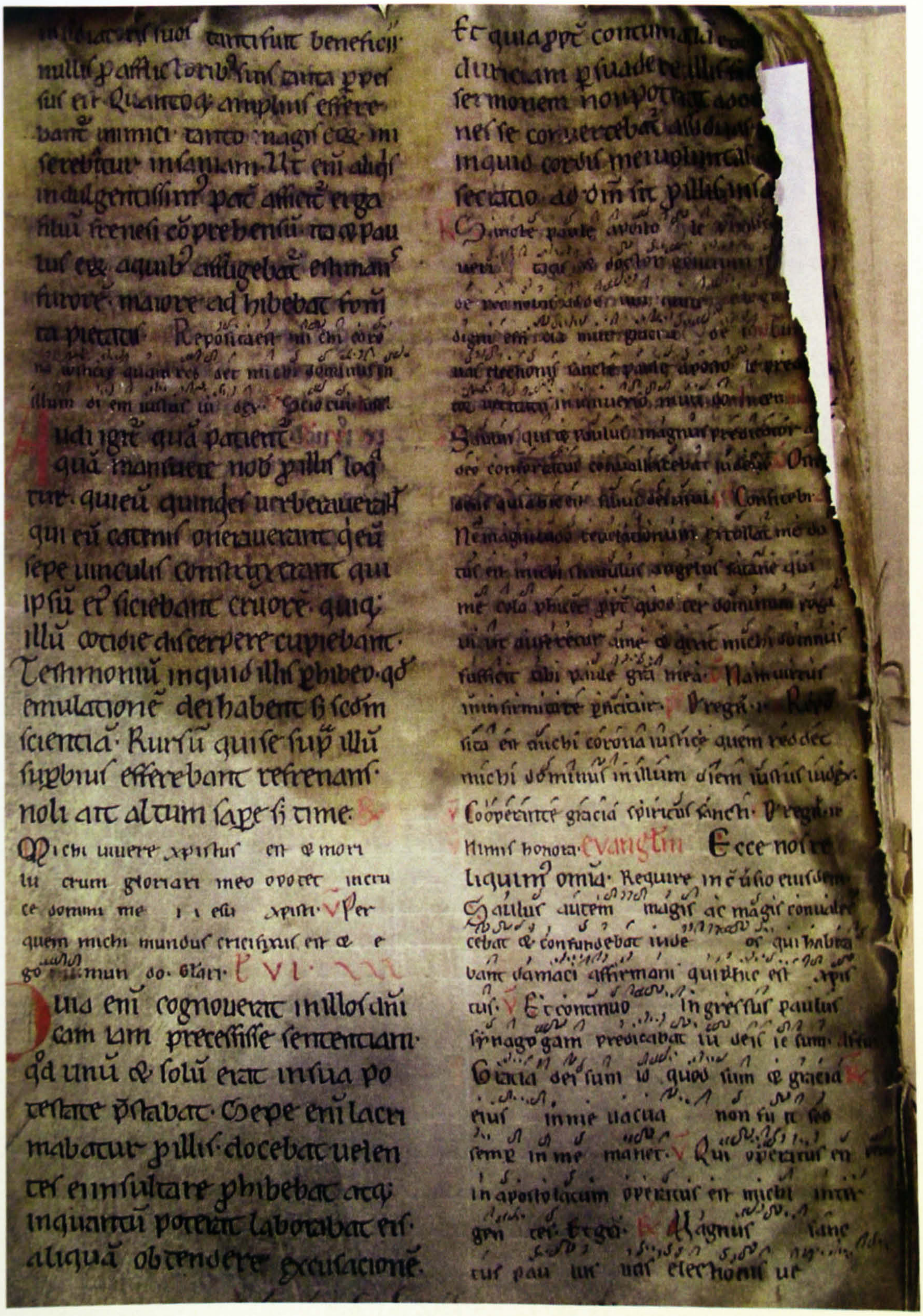


Fig. 13: SRA Fr. 23619 (detail)

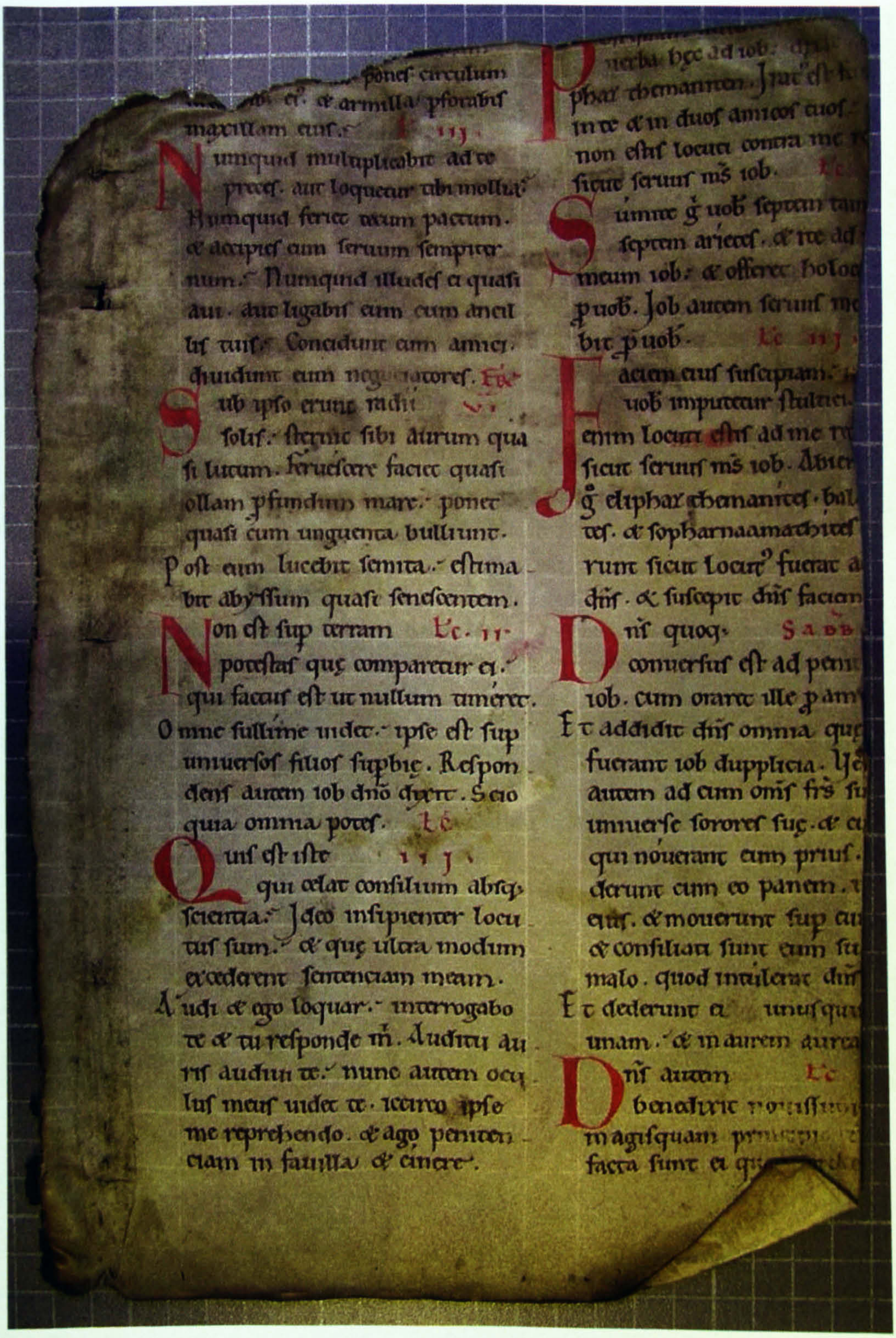


Fig. 14: SRA Fr. 23589 1r

Fig. 15: SRA Fr. 23599 1r (detail)

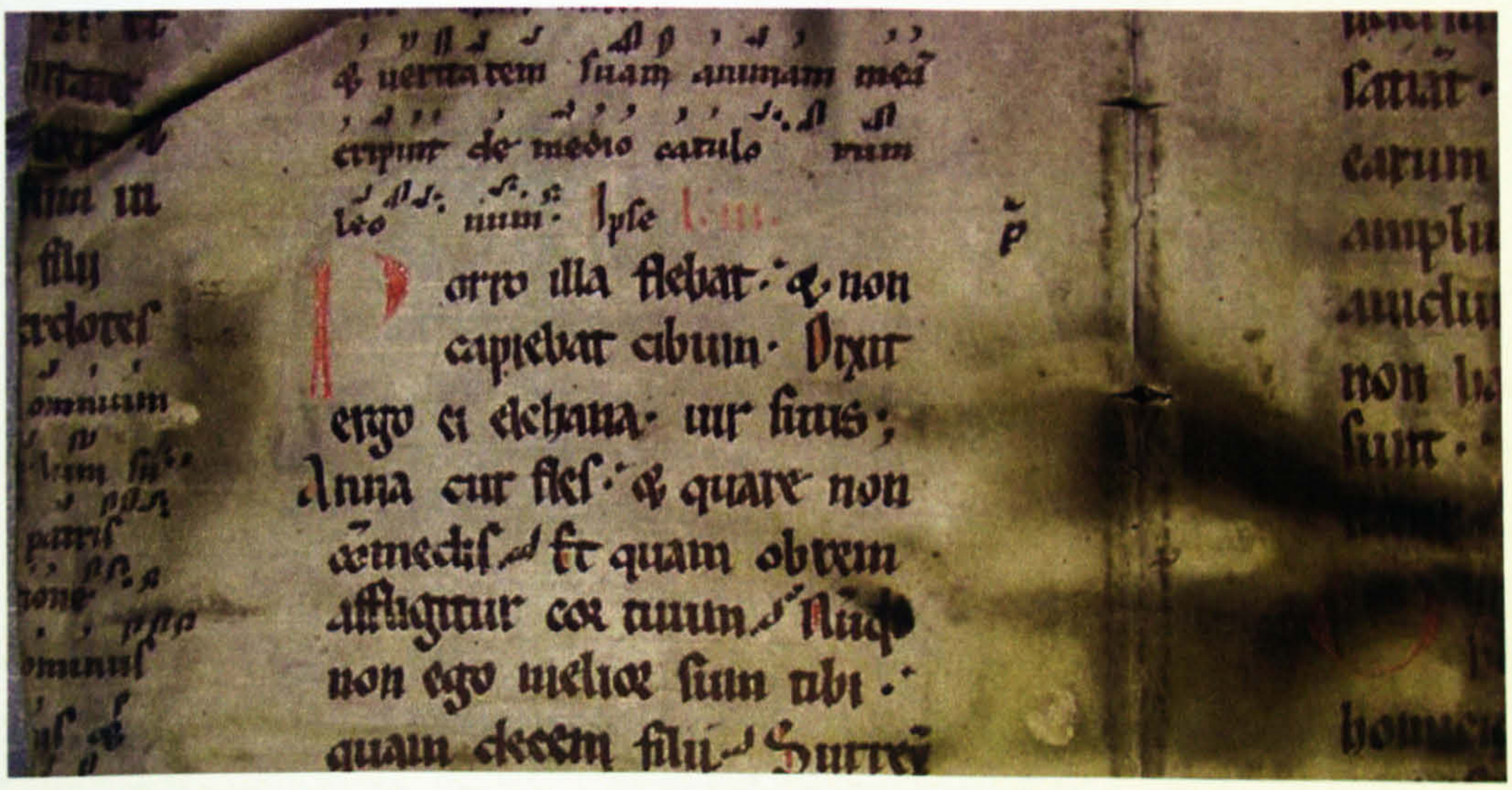


Fig. 16: SRA Fr. 22015 2v (detail)

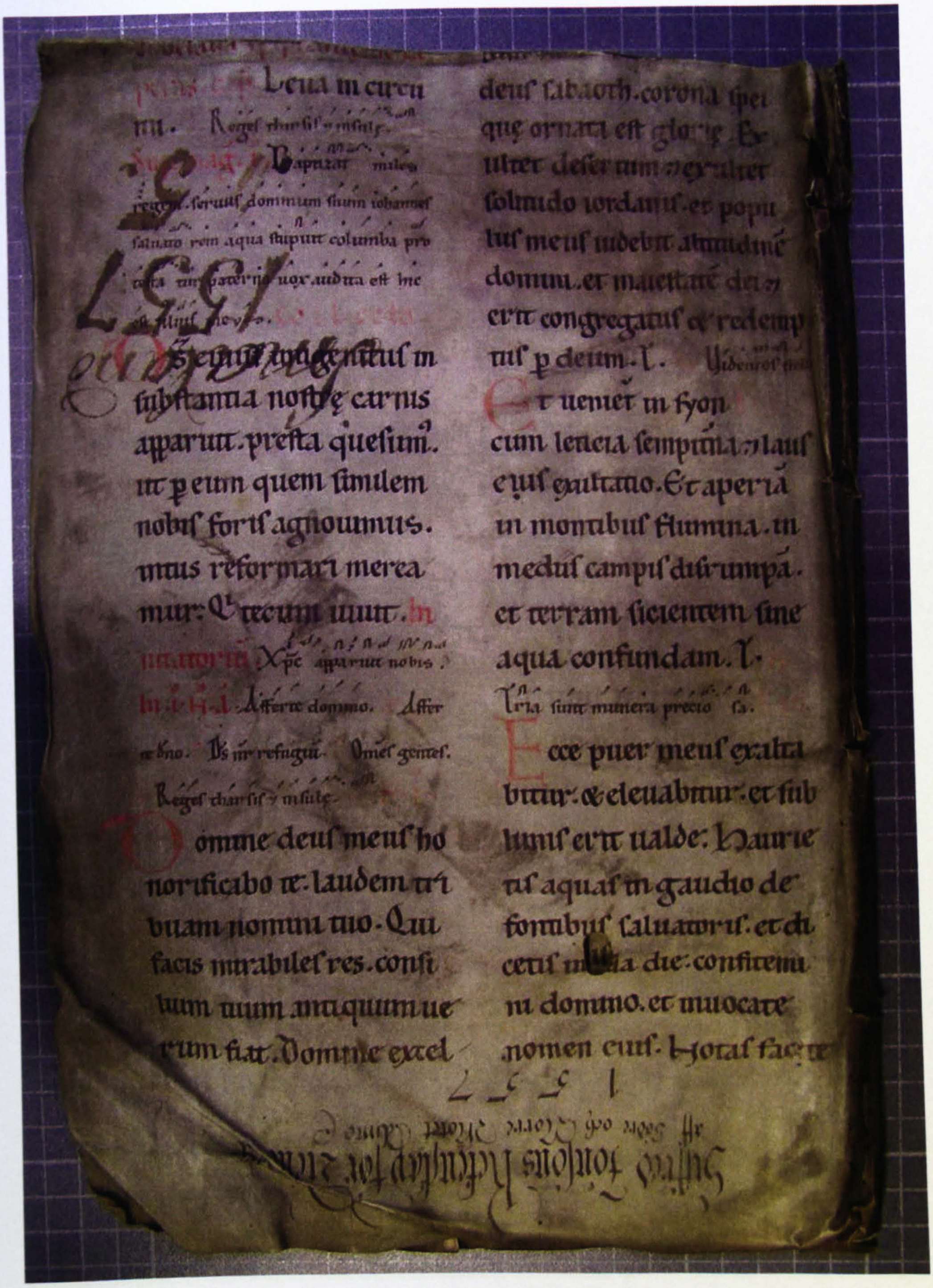


Fig. 17: SRA Fr. 23694 2v

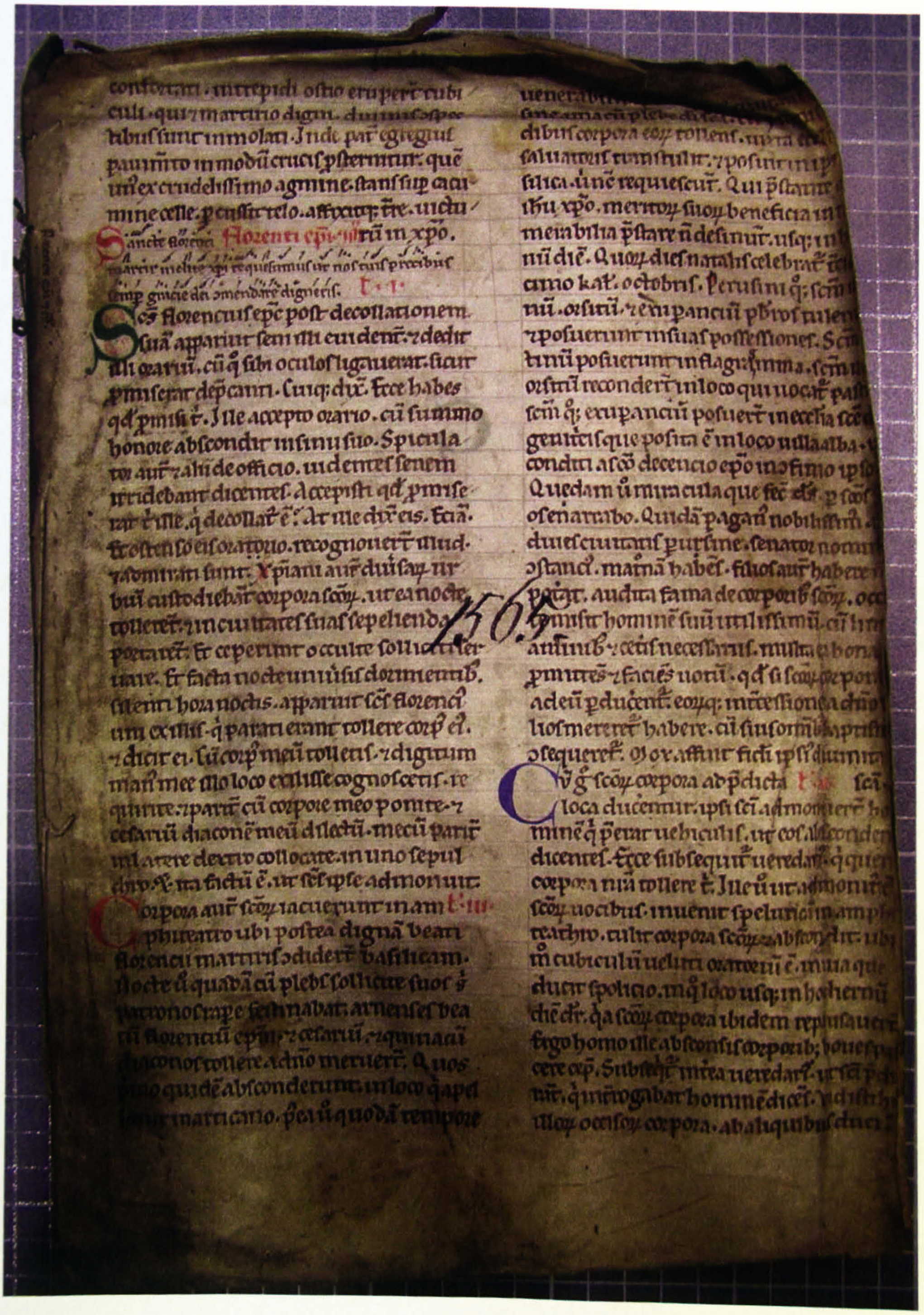


Fig. 18: SRA Fr. 23666 1r

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